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Cardiff University

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Introduction

From the later seventeenth century until the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878, a small compound within the cemetery adjacent to the Greek church of St Lazarus in Larnaca was set aside for the burial of Protestant mariners, merchants and, later on, missionaries. This arrangement mirrors that found elsewhere in the former Ottoman empire, where the Greek Orthodox – and in some cases the Armenian – church often afforded burial to Protestants, especially those subject to the British consul, with a Greek priest sometimes even performing the funeral service itself if no Protestant minister or consular official was available.¹ Seventeen tombstones still survive in Larnaca, dating between 1674 and 1849, though it is likely that at one time there were more. The inscriptions were recorded by Claude Delaval Cobham and George Jeffery over a century ago;² but, although in some cases their readings document parts of texts that are now either lost or indecipherable, in others they fail to record elements that are still faintly legible. In addition to these texts, Cobham also published that of another now lost seventeenth-century tombstone in St George's monastery in Larnaca (**no. 3**), and two eighteenth-century ones from Omodhos (**no. 12**) and

1 As in Tunis, for example: see D. Pringle, *An Expatriate Community in Tunis 1648–1885: St George's Protestant Cemetery and its Inscriptions*, Cardiff Studies in Archaeology/BAR International Series, MDCCCXI, Oxford, 2008, pp. 2, 146.

2 *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, ed. C.D. Cobham, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908, pp. 475–479; G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, Nicosia: Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 178–180; idem, “The Levant Company in Cyprus: Records”, *Notes and Queries*, series 11, 11 (1915), pp. 222–225.

Limassol (**no. 13**) respectively.³ The purpose of this paper is to provide a new edition of these texts, based as far as possible on re-examination of the surviving tombstones, along with a brief discussion of the identities of the people whose lives they record and how they came to be in Cyprus.

The church of St Lazarus and its graveyard

The church of St Lazarus (Fig. 1) stands a short distance from the shore in what is now the southern part of the town of Larnaca (ancient Kition). The church is a three-aisled basilica of Middle Byzantine type, with three eastern apses and vaulting carried on pairs of square masonry piers. Until they were removed in the early eighteenth century, each of the three bays of the nave was covered by a dome on pendentives. The tomb supposed to be that of St Lazarus is shown in a crypt below the church. Historical and archaeological evidence suggests that the present church replaced an earlier colonnaded basilica of the late Roman or early Byzantine era and was built around AD 901 with help from the Byzantine emperor Leo VI, when relics of St Lazarus were translated from Kition to a new church built to receive them in Constantinople.⁴

The first church to occupy the site would have been located well outside the late Roman city of Kition, probably in an area of cemeteries. By the late medieval and early modern periods, however, the area in which it stood was known either as Salinae (or Salines), after the nearby saltings, or

3 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, pp. 476–477. Although the latter tombstone now seems to be lost, the churchyard of St George in Larnaca does still contain the base of another marble headstone inscribed: *IN MEMORY OF / EDITH MARY / BELOVED DAUGHTER OF / CHARLES & S.A. WATKINS / DIED 22ND AUGUST 1881 / AGE 2 MONTHS & 15 DAYS*.

4 C.G. Chotzakoglu, *Church of Saint Lazarus in Larnaka: History, Architecture and Art of the Church of Saint Lazarus in Larnaka: An Illustrated Guide – Pilgrim's Companion*, Nicosia, 2004; R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Towns & Villages, Monasteries & Castles*, London: Methuen 1936 (repr. Nicosia: K. Rustem & Bro., 1973), pp. 108–11; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–170; A.H.S. Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 28 (1974), pp. 57–88; S.G. Michaelides, *Saint Lazarus, the Friend of Christ and First Bishop of Kition: The History of his Church at Larnaca*, Larnaca, 2014.

La Scala or Marina from the adjacent strand, on which goods and merchandise were landed from ships anchored in the roadstead off shore. The Dominican Friar Felix Fabri, who visited St Lazarus in 1480, describes Larnaca (Ornyca) itself as a village a mile from the sea,⁵ while in the following century Florio Bustron tells us that it occupied the former site of Kition and took its name from *larnax*, the Greek word for ‘coffin.’⁶

In September 1470, Friederich Steigerwalder, accompanying Gaudenz von Kirchberg on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, found the church in a ruinous state and being used by the patrons of a nearby hostelry as a place for eating and drinking and for stabling their horses.⁷ In August 1474, the Florentine pilgrim Alessandro di Filippo Rinuccini also reported that the church of St Lazarus, though still standing, was somewhat dilapidated and in use as a stable.⁸ In August 1480, however, two French pilgrims returning from the Holy Land mention independently that two of their companions, one of them a Franciscan, died on board at *Salines* and were buried in the church near the port;⁹ and four years later, in August 1484, the Franciscan Francesco Suriano was able to celebrate mass in the church of St Lazarus.¹⁰

5 *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society Library, VII–X (2 vols), London 1887–1897, I, p. 184, cf. p. 200.

6 Florio Bustron, *Historia overo Commentarii de Cipro*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, “Chronique de l'île de Chypre”, in *Collection des Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Mélanges historiques: Choix de Documents*, V, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886, pp. 1–531 (repr. with introduction by Gilles Grivaud, *Κυπρολογική Βιβλιοθήκη*, VIII, Nicosia, 1998), at p. 17.

7 *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, I: *Voyageurs occidentaux à Chypre au XV^{ème} siècle*, ed. G. Grivaud, Centre de Recherches Scientifiques, Sources et Études de l'Histoire de Chypre, XV, Nicosia, 1990, p. 80.

8 Alessandro di Filippo Rinuccini, *Sanctissimo Peregrinaggio del Sancto Sepolcro 1474*, ed. A. Calamai, *Corpus Peregrinationum Italicarum*, II (II.i), Ospedaletto (Pisa): Pacini, 1993, pp. 56, 133–134; cf. *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, I, ed. Grivaud, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

9 *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, I, ed. Grivaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 109.

10 Fra Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade, with preface and notes by B. Bagatti, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior, VIII, Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1949, p. 235; cf. *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

It seems that at this time the church was being used by both the Greek Orthodox and the Latins, for in 1486 Antonio da Crema affirmed that it was in the charge of a Greek priest.¹¹ In 1508, Martin von Baumgarten found it shared by the Greeks and the Latins,¹² while in September 1518 Jacques le Saige, a silk merchant from Douai, specified that in the choir they chanted in Greek and in another part in Latin.¹³ None the less, Greffin Affagart found in Salines in August 1534 'seulement quelques paoures maisons pour requillir les marchandises et auprès y a une grane église toute ruynée fondée de saint Lazare.'¹⁴

After the fall of Cyprus to the Turks in 1570, the church seems to have been appropriated by the conquerors. In 1589, however, the Seigneur de Villamont, arriving at *Saline* on his way to the Holy Land, wrote:

The next day, Wednesday, May 17, we landed to hear Mass in the church of S. Lazarus, which two months since the Christians had bought from the Turks for the sum of three thousand aspres, about thirty-one gold crowns; Mass is now said therein according to both the Greek and Latin rites.¹⁵

The Fleming Jan Kootwyk visited Salines, which he calls *Comercio*, a decade later, on 14 September 1598:

From Comercio we went on foot to Arnica, called by the ancients Piscopia, about a mile from the shore. As we walked, at a stone's throw on our left, we found a church, an ancient building, with a roof composed of several round domes; against the eastern side are sundry low huts, of a single storey, for the use of travellers, and convenient enough for those who land from shipboard. Turks and other strangers who come here for business pass the night in them. The Minorites of Arnica a few years ago bought from the Turks a chapel on the left side of the high altar as a place of sepulture. For if it happens that a

11 Antonio Da Crema, *Itinerario al Santo Sepolcro 1486*, ed. G. Nori, Corpus Peregrinationum Italicarum, III (III.i), Ospedaletto (Pisa): Pacini, 1996, p. 85.

12 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

13 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

14 Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte (1533–1534)*, ed. J. Chavanon, Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1902, p. 242; cf. *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

15 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

sailor from one of the ships in port should die, they bury him in this spot, which is but a little way from the shore, and perform the funeral ceremonies according to the Roman rite. From the church of Lazarus to Arnica we saw nothing but ruins ...¹⁶

Fr Giovanni Mariti later affirmed c.1760–67 that despite being turned out of the church by the Turks, the Franciscans still had the right to celebrate Mass in it twice a year.¹⁷ These occasions were the feast days of St Mary Magdalene and St Lazarus and the arrangement appears to have lasted at least until 1784.¹⁸ In 1596, however, the Franciscans had acquired another former Greek church in Larnaca, the Panayia Khrysopolitissa, beside which a new Latin church and convent were subsequently built.¹⁹ This state of affairs is reflected in the account by Henry de Beauvau in 1604–5:

In the same town are several Flemish merchants, and a church served according to the Roman rite by three monks who belong to Jerusalem. There are other churches where there are Greek Caloiers [monks], notably a chapel belonging to the said monks between the town and the shore, where they show a hole said to be the tomb of Lazarus.²⁰

In September 1625, despite being misled by pilgrims' graffiti on the outside of the building into thinking that it had once belonged to the Armenians, Pietro della Valle found St Lazarus's church in the hands of the Greeks, the nave being used by the men and the aisles by the women.²¹

16 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

17 G. Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro e per la Sorìa e Palestina fatti ... dall'anno 1760 al 1768*, 9 vols, Florence, 1769–1776, I, pp. 41–42; idem, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, trans. C.D. Cobham, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909 (repr. 2009), p. 18.

18 Chotzakoglu, *Church of Saint Lazarus*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

19 G. Golobovich, *Serie cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori dei Provinciali Custodi e Presidenti della medesima già Commisari apostolici dell'Oriente*, Jerusalem: Tipografia del Convento di S. Salvatore, 1898, pp. 232–233.

20 H. de Beauvau, *Relation journalière du voyage du Levant*, Nancy: Jacob Garnich, 1615 (facsimile repr. Beirut: Librairie Orientaliste P. Geuthner/Éditions Dar an-Nahar, 2001), pp. 90–91; trans. in *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

21 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 213; cf. Mariti, *Viaggi*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 172–175; idem, *Travels*, trans. Cobham, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–78.

The first reference made by a traveller to Protestant burials being associated with the church dates from the early years of the eighteenth century. John Heyman travelled to the East between 1700 and 1709 and J. Ægidius van Egmont (Van der Nijenburg) between 1720 and 1728. Their accounts were later edited and published by Heyman's nephew, J.W. Heyman, but without distinguishing which parts were by which author. It is uncertain therefore exactly when or by whom the following description was made:

At Larnica, not far from the sea-shore, is one of the largest Greek churches on the whole island; it is likewise of a solid strong architecture, but void of any embellishments. Here we were shewn the grave of St Lazarus, who was restored to life by Christ. ... Not far from hence is likewise a small convent, with a church served by four Greek regulars. Near the place is the burial-place of the English merchants.²²

A few decades later, in the 1760s, Giovanni Mariti also remarked, 'Outside the church [of St Lazarus] is the cemetery of the Protestant nations. There are many mausolea, especially of the English, decorated with marbles.'²³ The burying ground for Protestants was also noted in the neighbourhood of the church in July 1801 by Dr Hume, who remarked on 'the tombs of several Englishmen, who had all died in the summer, when the heat is excessive.'²⁴ Similarly, in September 1814, Henry Light saw in 'the cemetery of the convent of St Lazarus at La Scala ... the tombstones of English who formerly resided at Larnica; but their date is not later than 1750.'²⁵ Evidently he failed to notice the tomb of the consul Michael de Vezin (**no. 11**), or else regarded him as a Frenchman. Signs that the English cemetery, like the English community itself, had seen better days, however, were also observed by William Turner, who stayed in Larnaca between 13 and 16 March 1815:

I was glad to make acquaintance with Mr H[ow], an English merchant, living in the Marina, who introduced me to his wife, a native of the island; he strolled with me about in the bazaars ... and showed me the Greek Church, a heavy

22 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

23 Mariti, *Viaggi*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 44; cf. *idem*, *Travels*, trans. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

24 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

25 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

building of the Low Empire, and the English burying-ground, where are interred many Englishmen, some of whom have handsome tombstones over them, dated the beginning of the last century, when the English factory here consisted of fifteen or sixteen houses. The burying-ground is now, however, falling to decay, as the Greeks also are interred there, and many masons have been working on the tombs, by which they have quite effaced the inscriptions on the flat ones.²⁶

Burials continued to be made in the cemetery almost up to the time of the British occupation in 1878, when an illustration published in the *Illustrated London News* showed some of the tombs much as they appear today, enclosed by a wrought-iron fence (Fig. 2).²⁷ In 1882, however, a new English cemetery was consecrated by the bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt. Rev. C.W. Sandford, in the northern part of the town, on the north side of what is now Archbishop Kyprianos Street.²⁸

In the first decade of twenty-first century, as the town of Larnaca expanded and the church became more fully part of the urban fabric, a decision was taken to form a piazza around the church by paving over the area of the former graveyard and transferring the Orthodox burials and tombstones to the larger Orthodox cemetery near St George's church. The small enclosure containing the Protestant graves, however, has remained untouched and through the good offices of the British Sovereign Base authorities in Dhikalia, a timber roof was erected to protect the tombstones from the elements.

Discussion

As already remarked, most of the surviving tombs, which date between 1674 and 1849, relate to mariners and merchants, including consuls (for a summary, see Table below). Before 1825, all of them would have been involved in some capacity or other with the Levant Company. The origins of

²⁶ *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

²⁷ S.P. O[...], "The British Occupation of Cyprus", *Illustrated London News*, 73 (Oct. 1878), p. 213–214, 325.

²⁸ *A Pastoral Letter from the Right Rev. C.W. Sandford, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar, to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese*, Oxford & London: James Parker and Co., 1882 <<http://anglicanhistory.org/europe/sandford1882.html>> [accessed 3 June 2016].

this company lie in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth I, when English merchants began looking for a means of importing goods directly from the East, rather than through Venetian intermediaries. In 1580 Sultan Murād III granted twenty-two articles, or capitulations, defining the privileges to be enjoyed by English merchants trading in Ottoman lands and the following year the Turkey Company received a royal charter. In 1592, this company was amalgamated with the Venice Company to form the Levant Company, commanding a monopoly over English trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.²⁹ Aleppo, on the overland caravan route from the Far East, had an English consul by 1582 and Larnaca became an important staging post on the sea route between London, Leghorn (Livorno), Zante (Zakynthos) and Scanderoon (Alexandretta, Iskerderun), Aleppo's Mediterranean outlet. Initially the group of English merchants in Larnaca came within the purview of the consul in Aleppo; but an English consul in Cyprus is mentioned in 1605 and Petro Savioli, 'our vice-consul in Cyprus,' is mentioned in a letter dated July 1626. In June 1636, the merchant Richard Glover was confirmed as vice-consul in Larnaca, with the right to support himself in the office from the consulage, or fees levied from English ships trading there; and from December 1722 onwards, Larnaca was served by a consul, acting independently of Aleppo.³⁰

29 M. Epstein, *The Early History of The Levant Company*, London: Routledge, 1908; A.C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935 (repr. London: Frank Cass, 1964), pp. 1–14; H. Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks, 1571–1878: A Record Based on the Archives of the English Consulate in Cyprus under the Levant Company and After*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. 86–87.

30 Epstein, *Early History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–74; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–8, 276; A.E. Özkul, "The Consuls and their Activities in Cyprus under the Ottoman Administration (1571–1878)", *Turkish Studies*, 8.2 (2013), pp. 239–283 (at pp. 251–252); G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, IV: *The Ottoman Province, The British Colony, 1571–1948*, ed. H. Luke, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952, pp. 62–64; D. Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the sixteenth century to about 1860", 2011, pp. 33–43 [<http://www.levantineheritage.com/>, accessed 2 June 2016]. On the consuls in Aleppo, see also G. Jeffery, "English Consuls in Aleppo 1582–1850", *Notes and Queries*, series 11, 11 (1915), pp. 182, 389–390, 408, with additional comments by G.F. Abbott, *ibidem*, pp. 254–255, 327–328, and G.S. Parry, *ibidem*, pp. 389–390.

Although local Cypriot products included oil, wine, honey, turpentine, alum and gograms (a coarse cloth woven from silk and wool), the main exports from Cyprus, as from Aleppo, Acre and Sidon, were silk cloth and cotton cloth and yarn, which England imported in large quantities to feed the developing Lancashire cotton and fustian weaving industries. Some spices, dyes and silks were also imported from Persia and the Far East through Aleppo and Iskenderoon. The main English export was woollen cloth, some of which was sold for cash with which to purchase other wares as the ships proceeded through the Mediterranean. Even after the East India Company began to challenge the Mediterranean trade in Far Eastern products in the later seventeenth century by importing them more cheaply directly by sea around Africa, the Aleppo trade continued, with some Far Eastern goods being re-exported from London back to the Eastern Mediterranean and undercutting the local market.³¹

The earliest surviving tombs are those of the ships' captains, Peter Bowen (d. 1673, **no. 1**), captain of HMS *Leopard*, who died while on convoy duty in the Mediterranean, and Peter Dare (d. 1685, **no. 2**), captain of the *Scipio*, an armed merchantman. These are followed by the merchants John Ken (d. 1693, **no. 3**), John des Bouverie (d. 1699, **no. 5**), Robert Bate (d. c.1700, **no. 6**), William Ken (d. 1701, **no. 7**) and Christopher Graham (d. 1711, **no. 8**), and by Mary Palmer, the wife of another merchant, Samuel Palmer (d. 1720, **no. 9**). There follow the consuls George Barton (d. 1739, **no. 10**) and Michael de Vezin (d. 1792, **no. 11**).

In 1825, Levant Company lost its monopoly and was dissolved. Its assets and privileges, including in Cyprus the appointment and maintenance of the consul, passed to the crown.³² Later consuls or members of consular

31 Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 23, 73–77, 102–105, 123, 158, 163, 168, 174, 196, 203, 213, 217, 221; R. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century*, London–Melbourne–Toronto: Macmillan, 1967, pp. 26–42, 83–84, 96–171; *idem*, *English Overseas Trade 1500–1700*, Studies in Economic History, London: Macmillan, 1973, pp. 10, 18, 25, 30–31, 36, tables IV–V.

32 Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–204; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 158–61; I.S. Russell, *The Later History of the Levant Company, 1753–1825*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1935.

families buried in Larnaca include the consul, Dr James Lilburn (d. 1843, **no. 17**), and Helena Augusta Jane Kerr, daughter of the consul Niven Kerr (d. 1847, **no. 18**).

As elsewhere around the Mediterranean,³³ trade was followed from the 1820s–30s onwards by Protestant evangelism, both British and American. Among the American missionaries and their family members who are represented in Larnaca are Lorenzo Erastus and Lucinda Content Pease (d. 1838, **no. 14**) and their father, the Rev. Lorenzo Warriner Pease (d. 1839, **no. 16**), and Daniel Ladd Jr. (d. 1839, **no. 15**), son of the Rev. Daniel Ladd. The Rev. Joseph Wolff, a British citizen of German Jewish extraction, also stayed in Larnaca with his wife Georgiana, but their infant daughter, Esther Harriet Simeon Mary Wolff, who died during their stay in Cyprus, was buried in Limassol (d. 1828, **no. 13**).

The last recorded interment before the British occupation in 1878 was William Balls, a sailor in the Royal Navy, who died while engaged in the survey of the coasts of Cyprus in 1849 (**no. 19**).

Despite its small size, the Protestant cemetery in Larnaca may be compared with others established in the Ottoman empire and around the Mediterranean from the seventeenth century onwards to serve the needs of English and other Protestant merchant communities.

Until 1939, when the site was cleared and 48 tombstones were moved to a new cemetery in the suburb of Shaykh Maqṣūd, the English cemetery in Aleppo was located in the ‘Azīzīya quarter, north-east of the city. Although an inscription over the gate claimed a foundation date of 1584, the gate itself was evidently considerably later than that.³⁴ A more likely time for the establishment of the cemetery is suggested by a letter sent from the Levant Company in London on 1 September 1670 to the consul, Benjamin Lannoy, replying to a report made by him on the recent plague, during

33 E.g. M. Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430–1950*, London: HarperCollins, 2004, pp. 167–170; Pringle, *An Expatriate Community in Tunis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–3, 9–10.

34 G. Jeffery, “English Records in Aleppo”, *Notes and Queries*, series 11, 11 (1915), pp. 101–103 (at p. 101); S. Gaselee, “The British Cemetery at Aleppo”, *Notes and Queries*, 177.7 (1939), pp. 111–112 (at p. 111).

which ten members of the English factory had died and trade had been temporarily suspended.³⁵ The Company, noting the lack of a suitable burial ground, authorized the consul to go ahead and purchase a plot of land that he had been offered for \$150 and to cover the cost by levying a burial charge of \$5 per interment until the sum was paid off, as was already being done in Smyrna.³⁶ The earliest of the tombstones relocated in 1939, however, that of Nathaniel Brewer, bears a date of 1653 and others are dated 1675, 1679, 1680, 1682, 1685 (two), 1693, 1694 and 1697, followed by the chaplain Henry Maundrell in 1701.³⁷ Sometime before 1915, George Jeffery recorded the full texts of some of the tombs, including those of: Robert Burdet, who died from a snake bite while hunting hare on 9 October 1673, aged 23;³⁸ William Bethel, chancellor, who died in 1679 or 1689, aged 36; and the Rev. Bartholomew Chaffield, chaplain, who died in 1685, aged about 80. Jeffery also noted that the tombstones in all the Aleppine cemeteries were quite different in form and decoration from those in Larnaca and Alexandretta (Scanderoon), being rectangular blocks some $6 \times 2 \times 2$ feet ($1.83 \times 0.61 \times 0.61$ m), hollowed out underneath so that they appeared like ancient sarcophagi turned upside down.³⁹

The English cemetery in Scanderoon (Alexandretta) was visited by Volney (alias Constantin-François Chassebeuf) in November 1783. In the town he found three foreign factors, two for the French and one for the English and Venetians.

The only curiosity with which they can entertain visitors consists of six or seven marble mausolea imported from England, on which one reads: 'Here

35 See G. Ambrose, "English Traders at Aleppo (1658–1756)", *Economic History Review*, 3.2 (1931), pp. 246–67 (at pp. 264–265); J. Mather, *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World*, New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 79–80.

36 *Calendar of State Papers [CSP], Domestic, Charles II*, 28 vols, ed. M.A. Everett Green, *et al.*, London: Longman/HMSO, 1860–1947, X [for 1670], p. 413; Gaselee, "British Cemetery at Aleppo", *op. cit.*, p. 111.

37 Gaselee, "British Cemetery at Aleppo", *op. cit.*, p. 112.

38 G. Jeffery, "Levant Merchants in Cyprus", *Notes and Queries*, series 11, 11 (1915), pp. 241–244 (at p. 242).

39 G. Jeffery, "English Chaplains at Aleppo", *Notes and Queries*, series 11, 11 (1915), pp. 201–202 (at p. 201); *idem*, "English Records in Aleppo", *op. cit.*, pp. 101–102.

lies so-and-so, taken away in the prime of life by the deadly effects of a contagious air.' This spectacle is all the more distressing because the languid look, the yellow complexion, the circles below the eyes and the swollen stomachs of those who show it make one fear the same end for them.⁴⁰

In December 1907, Jeffery found these tombstones lying around the edge of the churchyard of the Orthodox church of Mariakoudi in Alexandretta, where they had been moved when the church had been rebuilt a few years before. He remarked that they were so similar in character to those in Larnaca that they might have been made by the same masons. They recorded the graves of: Martin Loe of London (d. 24 Nov. 1677); Lucy (Lucia) Loe, his wife (d. 12 July 1700); Edmund Sawyer, from Kettering, Northants (d. 4 Jan. 1687/8, aged 28); John Wilson (d. 1722, aged 38); Elizabeth Scholl, wife of the factor William Scholl (d. 23 Dec. 1774, aged 35); John Levett (d. 1730); and Charlotte Levett, his wife, daughter of the Frenchman Armond de Pelcran.⁴¹

At Smyrna (Izmir) the English cemetery lay to the south of the city near the Greek church of St Veneranda in an area beside the sea where the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, French and Dutch also has cemeteries. Initially the English simply acquired plots in the Armenian cemetery, but as the prices demanded were extortionately high by 1670 the Company had purchased its own burial enclosure, for which it was charging \$5 per burial in order to pay off the purchase price.⁴² In April 1691, Jean Dumont, baron

40 Volney (C.-F. Chassebeuf), *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*, ed. J. Gaulmier, Le Monde d'Outremer Passé et Présent, series 2: Documents, II, Paris–The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1959, p. 278 (author's translation).

41 G. Jeffery, "Alexandretta (Scanderoon)", *Notes and Queries*, series 11, 12 (1915), pp. 93–94. Jeffery copied these inscriptions on 3 December 1907: see D. Pirides, *George Jeffery: His Diaries and the Ancient Monuments of Cyprus*, 2 vols, Nicosia: Dept. of Antiquities, 2009, I, pp. 127, 156.

42 CSP, *Domestic*, Charles II, *op. cit.*, X [for 1670], p. 413; C. Magni, *Quanto du più curioso, e vago hà potuto raccorre Cornelio Magni nel primo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi, e dimore per la Turchia*, 2 vols, Parma: G. Rosati, 1679–1682, I, p. 62; L. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux envoyé extraordinaire du Roy à la Porte, Consul d'Alep, d'Alger, de Tripoli, & autres Echelles du Levant*, ed. J.-B. Labat, 6 vols, Paris: Ch. J.-B. Delespine, 1735, I, p. 51; P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and*

de CarlsCroon, wrote that near the Roman aqueduct in the part of the town beside the sea

there are very ancient Burying-places, which at present belong to the Jews: And adjoining to these are the Burying-places of the English and Dutch, where there are very magnificent Marble Tombs, enrich'd with fine Relievo's. This place is call'd St. Veneranda, from the name of a Greek Church, near which there is a Spring fam'd for curing Fevers miraculously; tho' I'm confident its Vertue consists only in quenching the Thirst ...⁴³

At Angora (Ankara), the tombs of the Scotsman, John Roos (d. 22 June 1668, aged 35), and Samuel Farrington, son of the London merchant Acid-wall (Aedward?) Farrington merchant (d. 1660, aged 23), were also recorded in the eighteenth century just outside the town in a cemetery beside the Armenian convent of St Mary.⁴⁴

In Tunis, the Protestant cemetery of St George lay outside the Carthage Gate of the old city and was granted to the English consul around 1645. The earliest surviving tombstone is that of the merchant Samuel Webbe, who died in 1648. Eleven other tombs survive from the seventeenth century, 25 from the eighteenth and 77 from the nineteenth. As this was the only Protestant cemetery in Tunis until 1885, the nationalities represented in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also included French Huguenots, Scandinavians and Anglo-Portuguese refugees from the British colony of Tangiers (1662–84), to which in the nineteenth century were added Swiss, Americans and Italians amongst others.⁴⁵

Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678, London: J. Starkey, 1679, p. 394; S. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 2, 9.

43 J. Dumont, *A New Voyage to the Levant containing an Account of the most Remarkable Curiosities in Germany, France, Italy, Malta and Turkey: with historical observations relating to the present and ancient state of those countries*, London: printed by T.H. and M. Gillyflower, T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, J. Walthoe and R. Parker, 1696, p. 225; cf. Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

44 P. de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant fait par ordre du roy*, 2 vols, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1717, II, p. 462; Jeffery, "Alexandretta", *op. cit.*, p. 94.

45 Pringle, *An Expatriate Community in Tunis*, *op. cit.*

A cemetery for English merchants was established on Zante (Zakynthos) in the seventeenth century when it was a Venetian possession, though most of the surviving tombs date from the period from 1815 to 1864, when the Ionian Islands were a British protectorate. The Levant Company had a representative there by 1617 and after the Restoration (1660) the consul was appointed by the crown.⁴⁶ The earliest recorded tomb is that of Sir Clement Harby, who was appointed consul in 1670 and died in 1689.⁴⁷

The largest and best preserved of the English cemeteries established in the Mediterranean world in the seventeenth century is the one in Livorno (Leghorn), the fortified commercial and naval centre developed in the 1570s–80s by Cosimo I de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, to replace the port of Pisa, which had become silted up.⁴⁸ Between 1591 and 1593, under Ferdinand I, foreign merchants, notably Sephardi Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Dutch and English, were attracted to the port by the low tariffs and relative freedom to exercise their religion, within certain limits imposed by the Catholic Church. This enabled the city to develop as a Mediterranean trade hub serving Turkey, Venice and North Africa as well as Spain and Marseilles. The first English consul, Richard Allen, was appointed by the Levant Company in September 1621, but from the Protectorate onwards consuls were appointed by the government.⁴⁹ The right of non-Catholics to

46 Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–67, 120–121; Wilson, 'List of British Consular Officials', *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27.

47 S. Gaselee, "The British Cemetery at Zante: Sir Clement Harby", *Notes and Queries*, 179.15 (1940), pp. 257–258; Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials", *op. cit.*, p. 27

48 See *The Inscriptions in the Old British Cemetery of Leghorn transcribed by Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum, F.S.A., and the late Francis Campbell Macauley*, ed. M. Carmichael, Livorno: R. Giusti, 1906; G. Panessa and M.T. Lazzarini, *La Livorno delle Nazioni: I Luoghi della Memoria*, Livorno, 2006; B. Allegranti, *Cimiteri monumentali di Livorno: Guida ai Beni storici e artistici: I Cimiteri della Nazione ebraica, inglese e olandese-alemana*, Pisa: Pacini, 1996; *Un Archivio di Pietra: L'Antico Cimitero degli Inglesi di Livorno: Note storiche e Progetti di Restauro*, ed. M. Giunti and G. Lorenzini, Pisa: Pacini, 2013.

49 Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65; L.M. Lillie, "“Under all the eyes of the Christian world”: Comunità e Identità nell'Antico Cimitero degli Inglesi di Livorno", in *Archivio di Pietra*, ed. Giunti and Lorenzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–63 (at pp. 39–44).

have their own cemeteries was granted by the *Constituzione Livornina* in 1593, but it was not until 1644 that an English cemetery was established with the help of £150 bequeathed for the purpose by the merchant Daniel Oxenbridge. The site chosen lay outside the city wall, facing the *Bastione del Casone*, and the earliest surviving tomb is that of Leonard Digges, who died in October 1646. It was not until 1746, however, that the Catholic Church permitted the cemetery to be enclosed by a wall to keep out stray animals.⁵⁰

Some similarities as well as differences may be observed between the tombs in Larnaca and those in the other English (and later British) cemeteries around the Mediterranean. Most of the tombs are ledger stones, laid flat on top of the grave. The type of material used varies from marble to limestone, and although some may have been carved locally it is also possible that a number were imported, in some cases even from England. One (**no. 2**) bears the signature of an Armenian stone-carver, suggesting an origin either locally or possibly in Livorno.

Four of the grander baroque-style tombs dating from between 1693 and 1711 (**nos. 4–5, 7–8**) consist of steeply coped (or ridged) stones with hipped ends, three of them supported on decorative feet in a classical fashion. Typically one of the principal trapezoidal faces carries an inscription, in English, Latin or Greek, and the other an armorial bearing. All are carved in fine grey-veined white marble. It seems almost certain that these tombs were imported already carved in Carrara marble from Livorno, where some 49 similar tombs dating between 1650 and 1746 survive in the English cemetery, representing 61% of all the tombs of that period. The fact that similar types of tomb, evidently from the same workshops, are also found in the Jewish cemetery in Livorno and were apparently exported from there during the same period to Sephardi cemeteries as far apart as Chios and Amsterdam has given rise to the idea that this type of tomb was of Sephardi origin and was only later adopted by the English.⁵¹ Such a supposition, how-

50 M. Giunti and S. Villani, "L'Antico Cimitero degli Inglesi di Livorno: Dalle Origini al 1900", in *Archivio di Pietra*, ed. Giunti and Lorenzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–30 (at pp. 15–22, figs 1–5); Lillie, "“Under all the eyes of the Christian world”", *op. cit.*, pp. 44–46.

51 Lillie, "“Under all the eyes of the Christian world”", *op. cit.*, pp. 46–48, figs 20–22, 27–8, 30.

ever, does not appear to be substantiated by any reliable archaeological evidence and the ethnic or religious identities of the masons who carved both the Sephardi and the English tombstones in Livorno remain unknown. In any case, coped tombstones are found in England and in western Europe in general from the early Middle Ages onwards and appear to have developed from classical sarcophagi or early medieval house-tombs. By the early seventeenth century they were commonly being carved with an inscription taking up the whole length of one of the inclined faces, as on the examples from Livorno and Larnaca.⁵² Whoever was responsible for carving tombs of this type in Livorno, however, it appears that, like the Jewish merchant community, English merchants also exported them to their colony in Larnaca, and also very probably, as is suggested by the descriptions above, to those in Smyrna and Iskanderoon (Alexandretta). In contrast, in Aleppo and Tunis the tombs of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries appear to have been mostly local products.

Apart from the tomb of Michael de Vezin (**no. 11**), which is a table tomb supported on lions' feet, the later tombs all consist of relatively modest ledger stones, contrasting with the more ornate classical columns, obelisks, sarcophagi, stele and statuary found in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the cemeteries of Livorno, Zante and Tunis. All but two of the tombs dating before 1792 have armorial bearings of the family or families represented, the other two (**nos. 2–3**) having a skull and cross bones. In most cases the language of the inscription is in English, though in three (**nos. 1, 5, 11**) it is Latin and in one (**no. 8**) in classical Greek.

The number of tomb inscriptions is unfortunately too small to allow anything more than some very general conclusions to be drawn about mortality. Those dying on board ship would in any case often have been buried at sea, unless they had left instructions to be buried in the earth like Peter Bowen (1673, **no. 1**) or were of such standing that friends or family would see to a burial on land, as in the case of John des Bouverie (1699, **no. 5**). In August 1480, for example, the Milanese pilgrim Santo Brasca, on his return voyage from Jaffa to Venice, recorded the unhealthiness of the air of Cyprus and

⁵² F. Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1963 (repr. London: SPCK, 1979), pp. 85–88, 97–98, 108–109, 128–130, figs 14–16, 23, 36, 38.

the deaths of a large number of his fellow pilgrims in the anchorage of Larnaca (le Saline de Cipro), including two German knights, one of whom in a fevered state killed himself with a knife while the other died after his hands had been bound in an attempt to prevent him doing the same. The bodies of both were thrown into the sea, accompanied by the solemn office, as on land.⁵³ A few years later, when two of Brother Felix Fabri's fellow pilgrims, also German knights, died on board a galley near Paphos, one was buried at sea, tied into a shroud weighted with stones, and the other on land.⁵⁴

The unhealthy summer climate of Larnaca is alluded to by many visitors and encouraged those residents who could to decamp inland during the hottest months. In June 1801, for example, the Rev. Edward Daniel Clarke, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, visited Larnaca, on board HMS *Ceres*, and reported

We dined at Larnaca with our own Consul [Signor Peristiani], ... In our subsequent visits, we soon found that the malaria we had witnessed from the deck of the *Ceres*, veiling the harbour with its fearful mist, could not be approached with impunity. Our lamented friend, and exemplary commander, Captain Russell, was the first to experience its baneful influence; being seized with a fever, from which he never afterwards recovered.⁵⁵

The summer heat and associated contagion no doubt account for 15 of the 17 dates of death that are recorded as having occurred between May and August. Leaving aside the six infant burials, eleven ages at death are known. They range from 21 to 71 years, with an average age of 38; but if the 71-year-old Henry Rooke (**no. 12**) is omitted the average age falls to 34½.

As in Aleppo and elsewhere, a predominance of relatively young males is particularly noticeable among the Levant merchants, who often tended to be unmarried younger sons of London merchants, who were expected to

53 *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'Itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458*, ed. A.L. Momigliano Lepeschy, I Cento Viaggi, IV, Milan: Longanesi, 1966, pp. 119–120; cf. *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, I, ed. Grivaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–104.

54 *Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri*, trans. Stewart, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 26–27; *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, I, ed. Grivaud, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

55 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 379

serve an apprenticeship followed by several years factoring abroad before returning home with sufficient resources to marry.⁵⁶ Examples here include John and William Ken, John des Bouverie and George Barton (nos. 4–5, 7, 10). Wives and families were almost unknown in the merchant communities overseas before the eighteenth century and rare before the nineteenth. The earliest death of a merchant's wife recorded in Larnaca is that of Mary Palmer (no. 9), wife of Samuel Palmer, who died, apparently in childbirth, in 1720. In Iskanderoon, however, Lucy Loe died in 1700, having outlived her husband there by 23 years;⁵⁷ and in Aleppo, three children of the consul John Purnell were interred between 1719 and 1721.⁵⁸ By the nineteenth century the living conditions of consuls and missionaries and their families was somewhat different, though life expectancy was still relatively short, as is exemplified by the death of the Rev. Lorenzo Warriner Pease at 30 (no. 16) and the five deaths of infants recorded between 1827 and 1846 (nos. 13–15, 18).

Table: Summary of Protestant Burials in Larnaca and Environs

No.	Name	Birth (d/m/y/)	Death (d/m/y/)	Age (y.m.)	Profession/ relationship
1.	Peter Bowen		-/2–5/1673		naval captain
2.	Peter Dare	1646–7	25/6/1685	38	merchant captain
3.	Peter Deleau		2/5/1692		merchant
4.	John Ken	3/2/1672	12/7/1693	21.6	merchant, b. of 7
5.	John des Bouverie	c.1659–69	15–16/8/1699	c.29–39	merchant
6.	Robert Bate		13/5/c.1700		merchant
7.	William Ken	1677–8	24/7/1707	29	merchant, b. of 4

56 Ambrose, “English Traders at Aleppo”, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–247, 265–267; Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–5; Mather, *Pashas*, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–58, 80–85; D. Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East*, London–New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015, pp. 62–65; Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–81.

57 Jeffery, “Alexandretta”, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

58 Jeffery, “English Records in Aleppo”, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Gaselee, “British Cemetery at Aleppo”, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

8.	Christopher Graham	1665–6	24/7/1711	45	merchant
9a.	Mary Palmer		15/7/1720		w. of merchant
9b.	(infant) Palmer		15/7/1720	0	d. of merchant and 9a
10.	George Barton	c.1713	1739	25–26	consul
11.	Michael de Vezin	1740–41	1792	51	consul
12.	Henry Rooke	-/8/1742	7/7/1814	71.11	retired Lt. Col.
13.	Esther Harriet Simeon Mary Wolffe	8/11/1827	28/8/1828	0.9	d. of missionary
14a.	Lorenzo Erastus Pease	14/3/1837	10/7/1838	1.4	s. of missionary
14b.	Lucinda Content Pease	14/3/1837	2/12/1838	1.8	d. of missionary
15.	Daniel Ladd	15/4/1837	18/5/1839	1.1	s. of missionary
16.	Lorenzo Warriner Pease	20/5/1809	28/8/1839	30.3	missionary
17.	James Lilburn		6/1/1843	40	consul
18.	Helena Augusta Jane Kerr	24/7/1846	3/7/1847	0.11	d. of consul
19.	William Balls	1816–17	20 May 1849	32	naval seaman

Catalogue

The texts are arranged and numbered in the following catalogue in order of date (or presumed date) of death. The following conventions are used in editing them:

- [] letters missing due to damage or defacement
- () letters missing due to contraction or deliberate omission
- < > letters accidentally omitted
- { } letters accidentally included
- a letters partly legible but for which an alternative reading is possible

While an attempt has been made to give an impression of the style of lettering through the use of upper and lower case or by capitals of different sizes, an exact typographical representation has rarely – if ever – been possible.

The dimensions of the tombstones are given as follows: width × length × thickness/height.

1. Capt. Peter Bowen (d. 1673)

Grey-veined marble slab with moulded upper edge ($1.02 \times 2.14 \times 0.165$ m) (Fig. 3). The surface is extremely worn but appears to have borne an armorial bearing, below which were sixteen lines of Latin text written in italics, now mostly illegible. The first two and a half lines were recorded by Cobham and Jeffery, but very little of them can now be distinguished.⁵⁹

M(emoriae). S(acrum).	
P[etri B]owe[n]	
.....	
.....	
.....	5
.....	
.....]an[s	
.....	
.....	10
.....	
Po[.....	
Quos [.....	
Ne t[.....	
Sed tu dom[ine	15
O[ss]a mari c[.....	

Lines 1–2: ‘Sacred to the memory of Peter Bowen ...’

Although the surviving text provides little useful information apart from the deceased’s name, there are good reasons for believing that the stone marked the grave of Capt. Peter Bowen, commander of HMS *Leopard*,

⁵⁹ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, *op. cit.*, p. 476; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (no. 6).

whose will was registered on 16 February 1674.⁶⁰ First, the style of the tombstone is very similar to that of Robert Bate (**no. 6**), also dating from the end of the seventeenth century, the principal differences being that Bowen's is of marble rather than sandstone and the text is in Latin instead of English. Secondly, Bowen is a relatively uncommon name among mariners and merchants at this date, but Peter Bowen is one that appears quite frequently between 1653 and 1673, after which the only reference to him is in his will.

Peter Bowen served in the English Navy both during the Commonwealth and after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.⁶¹ From 1652 he commanded the *Mayflower*, a fifth-rate ship with 34 guns and a crew of 30 that was purchased in 1651 and finally paid off as unserviceable in October 1658.⁶² In late 1653 he was in charge of a group of frigates patrolling the Channel for Dutch shipping between the Isle of Wight and Harfleur,⁶³ but most of his time in the *Mayflower* seems to have been spent convoying merchant vessels between the west of Britain and Ireland.⁶⁴ Bowen's next command was a new ship, the *Bradford*, in which he saw service along the east coast and in the North Sea between 1658 and 1660.⁶⁵ After the Restoration the *Bradford* was renamed *Success*, and transferred to Milford Haven.⁶⁶ In October 1663, Bowen was appointed to command the *Sophia*, a new and larger ship being fitted up by the Navy Commissioners for the Company

60 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/344/210. For a subsequent family dispute over the estate, see TNA: C5/145/93 (1678).

61 R.C. Anderson, *List of English Naval Captains 1642–1660*, Society for Nautical Research Occasional Publications, VIII, London, 1964, p. 5.

62 *CSP, Domestic, Commonwealth*, 13 vols, ed. M.A. Everett Green, London: Longman, 1875–86, XI [for 1657–58], pp. 407, 528; R. Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail, 1603–1714: Design, Construction, Careers and Fate*, Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2010, p. 149.

63 *CSP, Domestic, Commonwealth, op. cit.*, VI [for 1653–54], p. 317.

64 *CSP, Domestic, Commonwealth, op. cit.*, VI [for 1653–54], pp. 530, 534, 566; IX [for 1655–6], pp. 507, 518, 545, 557.

65 *CSP, Domestic, Commonwealth, op. cit.*, XII [for 1658–59], pp. 408, 474, 477, 494, 503, 505, 519, 526, 533.

66 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, I [for 1660–61], pp. 60, 309, 355, 528.

of Royal African Adventurers,⁶⁷ though completion of the vessel was delayed until the following year.⁶⁸

In 1666, he was given command of the *Mathias*, a Dutch prize of 54 guns, in which he participated in June in the Four Days Battle against the Dutch, and in July the same year he commanded the *Newcastle* in the St James's Day Battle (or Battle of North Foreland). In 1669, he was appointed commander of the *Centurion* under the overall command of Sir Thomas Allin.⁶⁹

In January 1671, Bowen and the *Centurion* had arrived in Leghorn (Livorno) accompanying the herring fleet, but he was then ordered on to Zante (Zakynthos) to convoy the merchant ships that were there back to England. Before departing eastwards, Bowen requested four months' provisions for 205 men to be prepared for his return to Leghorn around 20 March.⁷⁰ On 23 December 1671, he was attending a court marshal near Deptford.⁷¹

In May 1672, Bowen commanded the fourth-rate *Leopard* (280 men, 54 guns) in the earl of Sandwich's division in the battle of Solebay against the Dutch at the start of the Third Anglo-Dutch War.⁷² In November 1672, he put in a request for a new mainmast and pinnace, as well as an imprest bill on behalf of the purser, as the *Leopard* had been ordered to the Mediterranean.⁷³ The new mainmast was set at Queensborough by 9 December and

67 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, III [for 1663–1664], p. 314.

68 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, III [for 1663–1664], pp. 318, 328, 377, 389, 426.

69 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, V [for 1665–1666], pp. 311, 375; IX [for 1668–1669], pp. 352, 395, 429; *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, ed. J.R. Tanner, 4 vols, Publications of the Navy Records Society, XXVI, XXVII, XXXVI, LVII, London, 1903–1923, I, p. 328; J.C. Bender, "English Captain: Peter Bowen" [anglo-dutch-wars.blogspot.co.uk/2005/03/english-captains-peter-bowen.html], accessed 10 Feb. 2015].

70 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, XI [for 1671], pp. 34, 53–54, 59, 89; cf. 430.

71 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, XII [for 1671–1672], p. 41.

72 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, XII [for 1671–1672], pp. 366, 404; *Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts*, ed. Tanner, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 234–235, 238–239, 242, 272–273.

73 *CSP, Domestic, Charles II, op. cit.*, XIV [for 1672–1673], pp. 169, 202.

the ship victualled.⁷⁴ On 8 February 1673, Capt. Robert Robinson of the *Monmouth*, then lying off Malaga, reported that, having evaded the Dutch warships waiting off Cadiz, the men-of-war and their merchant charges had got through the Straits on 6 February and sent away the *Leopard* 'with the Turkey ships' the following day. Somewhat ominously he adds, 'We are now pretty healthy, but the *Leopard* and *Dover* are very sickly still.'⁷⁵ The 'Turkey ships' were evidently heading for Ottoman lands bordering the Eastern Mediterranean. The *Leopard*'s charges would doubtless have made first of all to Livorno, and then eastwards to Scanderoon.

It has been asserted that Capt. Peter Bowen was already dead by 28 May 1673, when his lieutenant, John Tyrrell, was appointed temporary commander of the *Leopard* in his place.⁷⁶ However, a list of naval vessels and their current stations drawn up on 14 February 1673 includes the *Leopard* under Peter Bowen among six ships then on convoy duty within the Straits.⁷⁷ On 14 August 1673, Captain Lucas Walsh of the *Jersey* also reported that when he reached Leghorn (Livorno) with four merchant ships from Smyrna on 29 July 'Captain Bone' (sic) of the *Leopard* had not yet appeared with the convoy from Scanderoon.⁷⁸ If news of Bowen's death had not reached Livorno by 14 August it is hard to see how the Admiralty Board in London could have known about it and appointed a successor by 28 May. As first lieutenant, Tyrrell would in any case have assumed command of the ship immediately on the death of the captain; but the earliest reference to him being in charge of the *Leopard* appears to be 1 December 1673, when he was ordered to bring his ship from the Downs to Woolwich.⁷⁹ The *Leopard* and *Jersey* were probably already in home waters by 20 November, when letters and warrants were issued to Capt. Walsh of the *Jersey*

74 CSP, Domestic, Charles II, *op. cit.*, XIV [for 1672–3], pp. 204, 257.

75 CSP, Domestic, Charles II, *op. cit.*, XIV [for 1672–3], p. 533–534.

76 The assertion, made in <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Tyrrell_\(Royal_Navy_Officer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Tyrrell_(Royal_Navy_Officer))> [accessed 11 June 2016], is unfortunately unreferenced.

77 CSP, Domestic, Charles II, *op. cit.*, XIV [for 1672–1673], p. 555.

78 London: The National Archives (TNA): ADM 106/284/156.

79 Tanner, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 144 [1 Dec.]; cf. pp. 165 [11 Dec.], 172 [16 Dec. 1673], 182 [20 Dec. 1673], 185 [22 Dec.]; CSP, Domestic, Charles II, *op. cit.*, XVI [for 1673–1675], p. 51 [8 Dec. 1673].

concerning the refitting of both ships, with instructions to proceed to Portsmouth if no dock was required or otherwise to Woolwich.⁸⁰ It seems likely therefore that Bowen's death would have occurred in the late summer or autumn of 1673. Whether he died at sea or in Larnaca itself we cannot tell, though it seems to have been in Larnaca that he was eventually laid to rest, following the directions in his will: 'And my Bodie I committ to the Earth from whence it came, to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors ...'⁸¹

2. Capt. Peter Dare (1646/7–85)

Slab of cream-coloured marble with pinkish marbling ($0.84 \times 1.75 \times c.0.18$ m) (Figs. 4–5). The text and decoration are simply incised. The text is in capitals of uniform height. The border decoration consists of stylized vine-scroll between parallel intersecting bands, with scull-and-cross-bone motifs at the four corners and midway along the longer sides. The text was noted by Cobham, Jeffery and others.⁸²

HEARE . LYETH . NITERRED.
 THE . BODY . OF . CAP.^E PETER.
 DARE . COM^R: OF . THE . SHIP.
 SCIPIO . WHO . DEPARTED . THIS.
 LIFE . Y^E: 25 : IVNE . 1685 5
 AGED . 38 . YEARS

Line 1: niterred for interred.

*Line 2: The superscript *e* after *cap* in line 2 seems to be intended as an addition or correction, though its meaning remains obscure, unless the stone-carver mistakenly intended to render it in French: 'capitaine.'*

80 Tanner, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 131.

81 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/344/210.

82 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 180; O[...], 'The British Occupation', *op. cit.*, p. 314; cf. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Chotzakoglu, *Church of St Lazarus*, *op. cit.*, p. 51; I. Robertson, *Cyprus*, Blue Guides, London: Benn/Chicago: Rand McNally, 1981, p. 60.

Other abbreviations include *com(mande)r* (line 3) and *y(e)* (line 5).

The name of the mason, *(H)ovannes(s) Gar(abad)*,⁸³ is written in Armenian lettering vertically at the bottom left-hand corner of the central panel (Fig. 6).

In the registration of his will for probate on 17 October 1685, Peter Dare is described as a mariner of Ratcliffe, Middlesex.⁸⁴ He also seems likely to be the Peter Dare who, three years earlier, had appeared as plaintiff in the Court of Chancery against Mark Malmes, alias Mollins, in a case involving money matters, also in Middlesex.⁸⁵

A ship named the *Scipio* is mentioned in the minutes of a court meeting of the Levant Company held on 10 December 1634.⁸⁶ This may be the *Scipio* of London, 300 tons, that sailed for New England with a cargo of 180 passengers and provisions in January 1640.⁸⁷ The ship commanded by Peter Dare, however, may be identified more plausibly with another, later *Scipio* of London, which is described in September 1670 as a new ship of 32 guns, built on the Isle of Wight.⁸⁸ This departed from Falmouth the following month in convoy for the Straits of Gibraltar and thence to Leghorn (Livorno) and Venice with a cargo of 1,300 hogheads of pilchards.⁸⁹ For the return leg of her voyage between Zante (Zakynthos) and Messina, she was escorted by HMS *Greenwich*, commanded by Capt. Robert Robinson.⁹⁰ The same vessel, described as of 350 tons with 30 guns, later operated for the Levant Company on the run to Scanderoon (Iskenderun). In 1677, with William Morice as master, it sailed from London to Smyrna with a cargo that included bales of cloth, lead, tin, pewter, red lead, indigo, cochineal,

83 Kindly read for me by Kevork Hintlian.

84 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/381/255.

85 London: The National Archives (TNA): C 5/469/70 (1682).

86 Epstein, *Early History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

87 CSP, *Colonial*, 44 vols, ed. W.N. Sainsbury *et al.*, London: Longman/HMSO, 1860–1969, I [for 1574–1660], p. 307.

88 CSP, *Domestic*, *Charles II*, *op. cit.*, X [for 1670 with add.], p. 446.

89 CSP, *Domestic*, *Charles II*, *op. cit.*, X [for 1670 with add.], pp. 362, 446, 478.

90 CSP, *Domestic*, *Charles II*, *op. cit.*, XI [for 1671], p. 89.

pepper, black rabbit and fitch (polecat) skins, and walrus tusks (sea-morse teeth), as well as currency in the form of silver zelots and dollars.⁹¹

3. Peter Deleau (d. 1692)

This text, with a skull and cross bones below, was recorded by Cobham and Jeffery in the churchyard of St George's monastery, Larnaca.⁹² Although the principal Orthodox cemetery in Larnaca now lies close to this church, there is no longer any graveyard around the church itself and the stone appears to have been lost. The text is presented here in capitals as Cobham and Jeffery give it, but it should not necessarily be assumed that this was how it was written originally.

HERE LYETH] INTERRED.
THE BODY] OF PETER DELEAV
.....] LONDON, MERCHANT
WHO] DEPARTED THIS LYFE
THE 2ND MAY, 1692. 5

Peter Deleau's name suggests that he came from a family of Huguenot origin. Some other London merchants of the same name are also known and, although it is probable that they were related to him, it remains uncertain precisely what the relationship was.

Abraham De L'Eau is recorded as a London merchant who married Mary, daughter of Edward des Bouverie (d. 1625), whose family, Protestants from Sanguin in Flanders, had moved to England in the reign of Elizabeth I. Abraham's brother-in-law, also named Edward, was a merchant involved in the Turkish trade, who was knighted by James II and died in

91 Anderson, *An English Consul*, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 185. This was evidently not the same vessel as the Africa Company's ship of the same name that was taken by the Spanish in 1689: *CSP, Colonial*, *op. cit.*, XII [for 1689–1692], p. 26.

92 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 477; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (no. 8); *idem*, 'Levant Company', *op. cit.*, p. 224; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

1694.⁹³ The younger Edward des Bouverie's first daughter, Jane, married another London merchant named John De L'Eau (or Deleau),⁹⁴ who was made a freeman of the Mercers' Company on 28 May 1680, sponsored by his father-in-law.⁹⁵ John Deleau is mentioned on four later occasions between 1685 and 1698 as a master of apprentices and 'one of the Company of merchants trading into the Levant Seas'.⁹⁶ On 23 June 1696, he requested an order from the Navy Board for four pieces of Hollands Duck, a type of strong light linen or hemp canvas used for making small sails or seamen's clothing.⁹⁷ His will was sworn on 21 May 1705.⁹⁸ A third Deleau, Elias, became a freeman of the Mercers' Company on 13 March 1696.⁹⁹

Peter Deleau was most likely related by marriage to John des Bouverie, who was buried in Larnaca in 1699 (**no. 5**). Like the latter he was very probably a younger son from a London merchant family who was serving or had already completed his apprenticeship and was working as a factor in the East.

4. John Ken (1672–93)

Baroque coped tombstone with hipped ends, supported on animal feet, carved in grey-veined white marble, with florid vegetal decoration around the edges and on the ends (base overall 0.88 × 1.69 m; height including feet

93 A. Collins, *The Peerage of England*, 5th edition, 8 vols, London, 1789, V, pp. 414–415; idem, *A Supplement to the Four Volumes of the Peerage of England*, London, 1750, pp. 399–400.

94 Collins, *Peerage*, *op. cit.*, V, p. 417; idem, *Supplement*, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

95 *Records of London's Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freeman 1400–1900*, Institute of Historical Research/Centre for Metropolitan History, <<http://londonroll.org.search>> [accessed 25 April 2016].

96 3 April 1685, 17 Feb. 1688, 29 May 1691, 12 Aug. 1698: *Records of London's Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freeman 1400–1900* <<http://londonroll.org.search>> [accessed 25 April 2016].

97 London: The National Archives (TNA): ADM 106/484/190.

98 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/482/46.

99 *Records of London's Livery Companies Online: Apprentices and Freeman 1400–1900* <<http://londonroll.org.search>> [accessed 25 April 2016].

1.05 m). One of the longer trapezoidal sides is decorated with two heraldic shields in high relief, one above the other, while the other carries an inscription in capital letters (Figs. 7–8).¹⁰⁰

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
 ION KEN ELDEST SON OF
 M^R. ION KEN OF LONDON
 MERCHANT WHO WAS
 BORN THE 3^D FEBRVARY 1672 5
 AND DIED THE 12TH IVLY 1693

John Ken's father may perhaps be identified as the John Ken who was involved in a financial dispute with the East India Company in London in 1668–69.¹⁰¹ Evidently he was not the John Ken, mariner in the ship *Merchant Adventure*, whose will was sworn on 14 September 1661,¹⁰² though the latter may well have been a relative.

Jeffery notes that John Ken Senior's younger brother was Thomas Ken (1637–1711), who served as chaplain to Princess Mary Stuart and then to King Charles II before being nominated as bishop of Bath and Wells in 1684. In 1688 along with six other bishops he was put on trial for refusing to publish James II's Act of Indulgence, permitting Roman Catholics to hold public office, but on the accession of William III and Mary II was also among the non-jurors who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new king and queen on the grounds of already having sworn allegiance to James II. He was consequently excluded from his see in February 1690 and spent the remainder of his life as a private tutor and writer of sermons and hymns.¹⁰³

100 The text is noted by H. Clarke, "Primeval Inscriptions Abroad", *Notes and Queries*, series 3, 10 (22 Sept. 1866), p. 226; O[...], "British Occupation", *op. cit.*, p. 314; *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 178 (no. 1); Jeffery, "Levant Company", *op. cit.*, p. 224; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Robertson, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

101 London: The National Archives (TNA): C 5/53/24, C 5/585/39.

102 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/305/394.

103 Jeffery, "Levant Company in Cyprus", *op. cit.*, p. 224; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, p. 90; W. Marshall, "Ken, Thomas (1637–1711)", *Oxford Dictionary of*

5. John des Bouverie (d. 15/16 August 1699)

Baroque coped tombstone with hipped ends, supported on animal feet, carved in grey-veined white marble like no. 4, but larger (base overall 0.95 × 2.09 m; height including feet 1.20 m) (Figs. 9–10). On one side is carved in high relief a shield bearing at one time an inset, possibly in painted plaster or mosaic, representating a two-headed eagle, of which only the ghost remains; above it is a visored helmet supporting a crest also in the form of a two-headed eagle. The inscription on the other face is carved in small capitals, many of them now illegible or only barely legible. By examining the text closely under different natural lighting conditions, however, it has been possible to discern more than earlier commentators were able to do.¹⁰⁴

M(EMORIAE): S(ACRUM):

{I} VIRI ORN[A]TI [...] IOH[ANIS] D[ES BOVVE]RI[E] LONDI[NIE]NSIS DO(MINI):
[EDWAR]DI 2

D[E]S BOV[VERIE EQVITIS] AV[RATI. FILII MI]NORIS QVI [PER] : XIV :
A[NNOS.] IN S[.] IN [.]EVM [AT]QV[E] HOMINES FID[OS ET] 4
MERCAT[ORES] IMPENSOS IN [...] OA [.]TV REPENTINA FEBRIS VIS COR[RVIT
ET . AD MELIOREM PATRIAM EM[IGR]AVIT . O[BIIT] IN [INSUL]A CAN[DIAE.]NO]N 6
LONGE AB HAC INSULA AVG : XV : AN : DOM : MDCLXXXIX AET: S[VAE :]I
DESIDERATISSIMI CORPUS IN LITTVS REPORTANTES AMICI HIC [M.P.] 8

Sacred to the memory of a distinguished man, John des Bouverie of London, [...] younger son of Sir Edward des Bouverie, knight bachelor, who [for] 14 years [...] trustworthy men

National Biography, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, Jan. 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15342>> [accessed 1 May 2016]; H.L.A. Rice, *Thomas Ken: Bishop and Non-Juror*, London: SPCK, 1964.

104 Cf. *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Jeffery, *Description, op. cit.*, p. 178 (no 2).

[and] rich merchants [...] an unexpected fever broke his strength and he passed to a better home. He died on the [island of Crete? ...] not far from this island on 15 August AD 1699 in the [...] year of his age. His grieving/solicitous friends brought his body back to this shore and placed this monument here.

Line 2: If the first letter, *i*, was intentional its meaning is unclear, unless perhaps it was a mistake for *eius*: ‘of that distinguished man ...’ The last word, [*Edwar*]*di*, is written in very small letters in order to fit within the space.

Lines 3–5: The relative clause beginning *Qui* should end with a finite verb before *repentina* in line 5 and would probably have given some clues as to John des Bouverie’s career in the 14 years before his death, but it is unfortunately mostly illegible.

Line 5: *vis* should be *vim*.

Line 6: in [*insul*]*a Can[diae*, or *Can[ae* (‘on the island of Crete’), is somewhat speculative. Other possible places lying not far from Cyprus include Caramania, the coastal region of Asia Minor directly opposite Cyprus, including the small port of Ayas in the Gulf of Alexandretta, and Cape Canzir on the Syrian coast some 70 miles to the south of it, from where Pedro Teixeira sailed directly to Larnaca in April 1605.¹⁰⁵ A few years earlier, in 1598, Don Aquilante Rocchetta had sailed in the other direction from Limassol, making landfall at Cape Canzir before proceeding north to Alexandretta.¹⁰⁶ However, neither Caramania nor Cape Canzir seem able to be qualified by a six-letter noun ending in *-a*, though *in scala Scanderunae* (in the landing place of Scanderoon) remains a possibility.

Line 7: The final *i* appears to relate to the ending of a word such as *sui* relating to the following words, rather than the last digit of a Roman numeral. The age of the deceased is therefore impossible to determine.

Line 8: The final two letters, *M.P.* for *monumentum posuerunt*, were recorded by Cobham and Jeffery.

105 *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, trans. W.F. Sinclair, London: Hakluyt Society, 1902, pp. 132–133.

106 Don Aquilante Rocchetta, *Peregrinatione di Terra Santa e d’altre Provincie*, ed. G. Roma, *Corpus Peregrinationum Italicarum*, IV (IV.i), Ospedaletto (Pisa): Pacini, 1996, pp. 35–37.

According to *The Peerage of England*, John des Bouverie was the sixth son of Sir Edward des Bouverie (1621–94) of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire and died a bachelor on 16 August 1699.¹⁰⁷ On 12 August 1695, John des Bouverie of Aleppo and his brother, Christopher des Bouverie of Smyrna, younger sons of Sir Edward des Bouverie, issued writs of quitclaim concerning some property in Hertfordshire.¹⁰⁸ As Sir Edward's third son, Jacob, was born in 1659 and his seventh son, Christopher, in 1671,¹⁰⁹ John was evidently born between these dates and his age at death would therefore have been between 29 and 39. His brother-in-law, John Deleau, was very likely a close relative of Peter Deleau, who also died in Larnaca, in 1692 (no. 3).

6. Robert Bate (d. c.1700)

Grey sandstone slab ($0.97 \times 1.96 \times 0.14$ m) with rounded edge (Figs. 11–12). The text, also recorded by Cobham,¹¹⁰ is written in italic script below a heraldic escutcheon enclosed by a wreath. The central part of the stone's surface becomes increasingly more worn towards the bottom; it is just possible therefore that there could have been an indented short final ninth line, which has completely disappeared.

Vnder this Marble lyeth y^e body
 of M^r Robert B[a]te [merc]hant he
 was the son of [Capt] Dyer Bate
 by Ansilla hi[s wife wh]o was borne
 in y^e Parish [of Stepney] in the 5
 Count[y of Middlesex in y^e] Kingdom
 of En[gland] 13 of
May [.]als

107 Collins, *Peerage*, *op. cit.*, V, p. 415.

108 Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies: Brookmans Park Estate and Gaussen Family: DEGA/23792–23793.

109 Collins, *Peerage*, *op. cit.*, V, p. 415.

110 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

Captain Dyer Bate's working life was spent in trade with the Levant and East Indies. The *Mary and Martha* (c.300 tons), of which he was master and part-owner, went as general ship for the Levant Company to Smyrna in 1670–71, but in May 1672 was hired out to the Navy Board, taking part in the recapture of St Helena from the Dutch a year later. In October 1673 she returned to the Levant under Dyer Bate's command as general ship for Smyrna and Constantinople.¹¹¹ The inventory of Dyer Bate's possessions drawn up for his widow Ansilla in February 1684, after his death at sea leaving no will, valued his estate at £5,879, one third of which would have passed to Ansilla and the rest to his three children. His share in the *Chandos* (700 tons), which he held jointly with his eldest son, was valued at £550. The picture of the family home in Stepney (Middlesex) that the inventory paints is of a 'three-storey house with two garret rooms for the servants, four bedrooms for the family, and a kitchen, dining-room, and parlour.'¹¹²

Among the *graffiti* incised on stone blocks from the Franciscan pilgrim hostel in Nazareth between 1629 and 1728 that were subsequently reused in the construction of a new church over the Cave of the Annunciation in 1730 are a number recording the names of pilgrims and merchants, including many English, Dutch and German Protestants. One of these, inscribed *RO: BATE*, may well have been one that Robert Bate left while visiting the Holy Land from Aleppo or Acre.¹¹³ Another Englishman who stayed in the convent was Henry Maundrell, Anglican chaplain in Aleppo (1695–1701), who left an account of his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter 1697 and died in Aleppo in 1701.¹¹⁴

111 Anderson, *An English Consul*, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–139.

112 Anderson, *An English Consul*, *op. cit.*, p. 146; cf. London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 4/2879; 32/27/42 (14 Sept. 1688); 32/27/55 (sworn 7 Dec. 1688).

113 B. Bagatti and E. Alliata, *Gli Scavi di Nazaret*, II: *Dal secolo XII ad oggi*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior, XVII, Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1984, p. 141.

114 Bagatti and Alliata, *Scavi di Nazaret*, II, *op. cit.*, p. 140; H. Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1703; R.A. Butlin, "Maundrell, Henry (bap. 1665, d. 1701)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18378>> [accessed 12 June 2016]; Jeffery, "English Chaplains at Aleppo", *op. cit.*, p. 201; Gaselee, "British Cemetery at Aleppo", *op. cit.*

7. William Ken (1677/8–1707)

Coped tombstone with hipped ends and chamfered corners, carved in white grey-veined marble with a pink surface tinge due to weathering ($0.73 \times 1.75 \times c.0.70$ m) (Figs. 13–14). On one of the larger sides the text is incised in capitals;¹¹⁵ on the other a heraldic escutcheon, now effaced or more probably originally painted on plaster applied to a rough surface, below a mantled helm.

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF M^R WILLIAM KEN.
MERCHANT OF CYPRUS WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE THE 24 DAY OF IVLY 1707 AGED 29 YEARES

William Ken was presumably the brother of John Ken (no. 4). His will was sworn on 27 November 1707.¹¹⁶

8. Christopher Graham (1664/5–1711)

Baroque bell-shaped coped tombstone with hipped ends and scrolled feet (base overall 1.10×2.09 m; height including feet 1.28 m) (Figs. 15–16). It is carved in almost pure white marble, with florid vegetal decoration around the edges and on the ends, surmounted by a platter bearing a flower bloom and four cornucopias. One of the longer trapezoidal sides is decorated with an uninscribed cartouche, probably intended for a painted armorial bearing. A similar cartouche on the other side bears an inscription in capital Greek lettering.¹¹⁷

ΕΝ ΕΛΠΙΔΙ
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ

115 Clarke, “Primeval Inscriptions”, *op. cit.*; *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 178 (no. 3); Jeffery, “Levant Company”, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Robertson, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

116 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/497/297.

117 Clarke, “Primeval Inscriptions”, *op. cit.*; *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–179 (no. 4).

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΕΤΑΙ
 ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ Ο ΓΡΑΙΜΙΟΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΟΣ
 ΑΠΟ ΑΓΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΡΑΚΗΣΙΟΥ 5
 ΟΣ ΕΤΕΛΕΥΘΗΣΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΗΔΕ ΤΗ ΝΗΣΩ
 ΗΜΕΡΑ ΚΔ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ . ΕΤ . ΑΨΙΑ .
 ΤΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ . Μζτ .

In hope / of resurrection in eternal life (the life of ages) / here reposes
 / Christopher <the> Graham, Briton, / from Yorkshire, / who died on
 this island / on 24 July 1711 / in the 46th year of his life.¹¹⁸

Line 6: ΕΝΤΗΔΕ changed from ΕΧΤΗΔΕ, or *vice versa*.

Line 8: ζτ is ligatured, with an overbar over Μζτ.

The Seri Court Register (*Şer-i Sicil*) recorded on 23 August 1713 that since the English merchant, ‘dragoman Hristofi’ of Larnaca, had died without heirs, the English consul, Drododi, should be permitted to sell the 50 ha (500 dunams) of land that he held in various parts of Cyprus to Kadi Utfulah Effendi bin Ali Effendi for 850 piastres with the help of the consul’s representative, the dragoman Kostantin, son of Luizo.¹¹⁹

The rendering of Graham’s name in Greek as ‘ο γραίμιος is curious, as is the Seri Court Register’s reference to him as ‘dragoman.’ As an epithet ‘ο γραίμιος is meaningless, but was possibly confused with *διερμηνέας* (interpreter), which is synonymous with dragoman (*δραγουμάνος, tercüman*)

9. Mary Palmer and daughter (d. 1720)

Oval tomb slab of pinkish cream marble ($1.36 \times 1.88 \times c.0.15$ m) with a raised floral border carved in relief (Fig. 17). The text,¹²⁰ in capitals, is written below two heraldic shields also carved in relief.

118 Translation kindly provided by the late Professor Frank Trombley.

119 Özkul, “Consuls”, *op. cit.*, pp. 252, 256.

120 Noted in Clarke, “Primeval Inscriptions”, *op. cit.*; *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (no. 7); Robertson, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

MARY THE WIFE OF
 SAMUEL PALMER
 DIED THE 15TH IVLY 1720
 AND HERE LIES BVRIED
 WITH HER INFANT 5
 DAUGHTER

Samuel Palmer was a merchant who is recorded engaged in the Levant trade in the first three decades of the eighteenth century. On 28 November 1709, during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13), he and three other London merchants, William Hepburn, Richard Wells and Robert Kirby, are recorded as the owners of the ship *Susannah* (330 tons), which was fitted out as a privateer against the French under the command of Richard Pinnell with a complement of 60 men.¹²¹ A number of his letters dating between April and December 1717 survive among the business papers and correspondence of George Radcliffe, then representing the Levant Company in Aleppo.¹²² From these it appears that Palmer may have been in Aleppo itself by 11 April, but on 27 May was in Scanderoon and from 19 June onwards in Cyprus. It was there, in Larnaca, that his wife Mary died on 15 July 1720. He was evidently still in Cyprus in 1723, when, on 24 May, Sarah Allpoort in London addressed a letter to him there concerning the affairs of her husband, Thomas Alpoort, a former servant of George Radcliffe.¹²³

10. George Barton (c.1713–39)

Oval slab of white marble (1.11 × 2.26 × 0.11 m) (Fig. 18). The inscription occupies a raised cartouche in the centre of the slab. Above it is an armorial escutcheon surmounted by a helm crested with a wolf's head and with a blank motto ribbon below. Below it is a floral festoon. The text¹²⁴ is in capital lettering.

121 London: The National Archives (TNA): HCA 26/14/96.

122 Hertfordshire Archives: Family and business papers and correspondence of the Radcliffe family of Hitchin Priory, 1538–1944: DE/R/B29/1–9; B30/1–13; B31/1–5; B151/1–6.

123 Hertfordshire Archives: DE/R/B192/1.

124 Noted in *Excerpta Cyprica*, ed. Cobham, *op cit.*, p. 476; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus, op cit.*, p. 111; Jeffery, *Description, op cit.*, p. 179 (no. 1); Robertson, *Cyprus, op cit.*, p. 60.

GEORGIUS BARTON
CON]SUL BRITANN[ICUS
...] IN [...

...

...

...

XII[..... MD]CCXXXIX

...

5

George Barton became consul in 1730 and was replaced as consul by William Purnell on 10 April 1732; he was again consul from 1738 until his death the following year.¹²⁵ On 10 January 1733, Barton was still a member of the court of Larnaca, the others being the new consul, William Purnell, Stiles Lupart (who became consul in 1735) and Edward Lee.¹²⁶ The sultan's *berat* reappointing Barton to succeed Lupart as consul in November 1738 is the earliest such document to survive.¹²⁷

Richard Pococke stayed with Barton and his business partner Mr Grosvenor in Larnaca during his tour of the Levant in 1738, first from 30 October (new style 10 November) to 10 (21) November and then for two days from 5 (16) December. He recounts in a letter to his mother that Barton was the brother of the consul in Cairo, Robert Barton (consul 1731–50),¹²⁸ and that he can only have been around 24 or 25 years of age, since in 1730 he had spent nine months learning French from a French doctor, M. le Fièvre, in Southampton before travelling abroad. With Barton he visited the ruins of Kition, the church of St Lazarus, the Salt Lake, the Tekke of Umm Haram, and an underground church that had become a mosque. He

125 Özkul, "Consuls", *op cit.*, pp. 253, 256; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op cit.*, p. 276; Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials", *op cit.*, p. 34; cf. Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, *op cit.*, p. 63.

126 Jeffery, "Levant Company in Cyprus", *op cit.*, pp. 224–5; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op cit.*, p. 93

127 Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op cit.*, pp. 106–107; cf. A.C. Gazioğlu, *The Turks in Cyprus: A Province of the Ottoman Empire (1571–1878)*, London: K. Rustem & Brother, 1990, p. 211.

128 Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials", *op cit.*, p. 43.

also made the acquaintance of other Europeans in Larnaca, including M. le Fièvre, the merchants William Purnell and Stiles Lupart, the physician Charles Perry (1698–1790), and the Franciscan Guardian of the Terra Santa along with Fr James Quirk from County Galway and another Franciscan father.¹²⁹

11. Michael de Vezin (1740/1–1792)

White marble table tomb, with moulded sides and chamfered corners, scalloped underneath and supported on four lion's feet (overall $c.0.80 \times 1.67 \times c.0.60$ m) (Figs. 19–20). The inscription¹³⁰ is incised in capital lettering on a fringed cloth laid on the surface, over which are placed on a tasselled cushion the masonic emblems of a set square and pair of dividers. Above the cloth in high relief is carved a heraldic shield in a cartouche, flanked by bunches of flowers.

D. O. M.
HIC JACET
MICHAEL DE VEZIN:
QUI ORIGINE GALLUS,
LONDINIS NATUS, 5
BRITANNICI REGIS SCUTARIUS,
AB EO CONSUL MISSUS
IN ALEPAM ET CYPRUM,
MUNUS HOC . DIGNÈ PROBÈ.QUE
ANNIS [XV]I GESSIT:, 10

129 *Letters from Abroad: The Grand Tour Correspondence of Richard Pococke & Jeremiah Milles, III: Letters from the East (1737–1741)*, ed. R. Finnegan, Piltown (Co. Kilkenny): Pococke Press, 2013, pp. 183–187, 193.

130 Previously recorded in Clarke, “Primeval Inscriptions”, *op. cit.*; *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 476; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (no. 2); Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 116, 276; Robertson, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

ET, E VITA DECESSIT. A:S: MDCCXCII.
 ÆTATIS.QUE SUÆ LI.
 CUIUS MEMORIÆ,
 DILECTISSIMA CONJUX
 ELISABETH PFAUZ: 15
 ORIGINE GERMANA,
 NATIUITATE VENETA,
 MOERENS,
 HOC MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

To the Greatest and Supreme God. Here lies Michael de Vezin. French in origin, born in London and equerry of the British King, he was sent by him as consul to Aleppo and Cyprus and fulfilled this duty with dignity and probity for 16 years. He departed from life in the year of Salvation 1792 and of his age 51. His beloved wife, Elizabeth Pfauz, German in origin, Venetian by birth, grieving, placed this monument to his memory.

Line 1: D(eo) O(ptimo) M(aximo).

Line 9: dign(itat)e prob(itat)eque.

Line 10: Cobham and Jeffery have annos xvi gessit.

Line 11: A.S. = anno salvationis.

Michael de Vezin was British consul in Cyprus from 1776 until his death in 1792.¹³¹ A journal written by an unnamed officer of the East India Company on his journey home by way of Basra, Baghdad and Aleppo in 1779 records his arrival in Larnaca on Friday 2 July:

... we went immediately on shore, and being conducted to the Consular house found Mr Burford in a very indifferent state of health, and likewise learned that the Consul M. Devezin had been seized that morning with a violent fever. He however soon came out to receive us, and gave us as kind and genteel a reception as could be expected from a person in his situation, and we are all accommodated with lodgings at his house.¹³²

131 Özkul, "Consuls", *op. cit.*, p. 257; Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials", *op. cit.*, p. 34.

132 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

A letter sent to 'Consul De Vezin at Cypruss' on 29 November 1785 from the Levant Company in London alludes to a recent period of leave in London.¹³³ This may possibly have been connected with the death of Francis Vezin of the parish of St Martin in the Fields, whose will was sworn on 25 February 1783.¹³⁴ Following his return, Michael de Vezin served as pro-consul in Aleppo from 1786 until 1791, when the factory there was closed (until 1803).¹³⁵

De Vezin was (re)appointed consul in Cyprus on 27 March 1790. On 5 October 1793, following his death, the British ambassador in Constantinople, Robert Ainslie, ordered the accumulated debts owed to him since 1786 by Muslim and other Cypriots to be paid to the representative of his heirs, the dragoman Anton Agop. It seems that it was not until November 1799 that the new ambassador, Spencer Smith, nominated the Venetian Antonio Vondiziano as vice-consul to replace him.¹³⁶

De Vezin's widow, Elizabeth Pfauz, later married Dr Gottlieb Harles, a professor at Erlangen. He subsequently published a German translation of de Vezin's notes on Aleppo and Cyprus,¹³⁷ the Cypriot section of which was subsequently translated back into English by Cobham.¹³⁸

12. Lt. Col. Henry Rooke (1742–1814)

This text was recorded by Cobham from a slab fixed to the outside of the north wall of the church of the Holy Cross at Omodhos, 40 km NW of Limassol.¹³⁹

133 Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

134 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/1101/36.

135 M. de Vezin, in *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

136 Özkul, "Consuls", *op. cit.*, p. 254; Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 66, 281.

137 M. de Vezin, "Nachrichten über Aleppo und Cypern", trans. D. Gottlieb Harles, in M.C. Sprengel (ed.), *Bibliothek der neuesten und wichtigsten Reiserbeschreibungen*, XII.ii, Weimar: Verlage des Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1804.

138 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, pp. 368–373.

139 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 476; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 363; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

UNDER THIS MARBLE ARE DEPOSITED
 THE REMAINS OF HENRY ROOKE ESQ^R FORMERLY MAJOR IN THE
 HUNDREDTH REGIMENT OF FOOT WITH BREVET RANK OF LIEU-
 TENANT COLONEL IN THE SERVICE OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY
 KING GEORGE THE THIRD. AFTER QUITTING THE ARMY HE TRA- 5
 Velled thro various parts of EUROPE AND BEING IN ITALY
 IN THE YEAR 1799 JOINED THE RUSSIAN ARMY BEFORE AN-
 CONA AS A VOLUNTEER OFFICER & FOR HIS SERVICES AND AS-
 SISTANCE IN REDUCING THAT FORTRESS HIS LATE IMPERIAL
 MAJESTY OF ALL THE RUSSIAS PAUL CONFERRED UPON HIM THE 10
 ORDER OF S^T ANNE OF HOLSTEIN 2^D CLASS. HE DIED IN THIS
 CONVENT THE 7^T DAY OF JULY IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD & SAVI-
 OUR 1814 AND WAS INTERRED BY THE HOLY FATHERS UNDER-
 NEATH THIS STONE WITH THEIR CONSENT AND THAT OF
 THE MOST REVEREND THE BISHOP OF THE GREEK CHURCH 15
 IN THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS. HIS ONLY SURVVING BROTHER W^M
 ROOKE AS A LAST TRIBUTE OF FRATERNAL REGARD AND AFFEC-
 TION HATH CAUSED THIS MEMORIAL TO BE CONVEYED AND
 PLACED OVER HIS GRAVE.

The birth of Henry Rooke is referred to in a letter from the Duke of Beaufort to his father, Brudnell Rooke, dated 18 August 1742.¹⁴⁰ Rooke followed his brother Hayman into the British Army. In 1761, during the Seven Years' War (1756–63), he took part in the British expedition that captured Belle Île off the Quiberon peninsula on the south coast of Brittany,¹⁴¹ and on 15 January 1762 he wrote to his father from Dieppe, where he had been taken by French privateers who had captured him during his return voyage.¹⁴² He was in North America during the War of Independence (1775–83), sending an account of the capture of Fort Washington to his brothers Hayman and Charles from New York in November 1776.¹⁴³ The following November he

140 Gloucestershire Archives: Rooke family: Family notes of members of the family by Sir H.W. Rooke and about Henry Rooke: D 1833/F2/40.

141 Gloucestershire Archives: D 1833/F2/8 and 10.

142 Gloucestershire Archives: D 1833/F7/11.

143 Gloucestershire Archives: D 1833/F2/42.

was appointed aide-de-camp to General Sir Thomas Wilson and in March 1778 Deputy Inspector General of Provincial Forces.¹⁴⁴ After the ending of hostilities with the British surrender of Yorktown in 1781, Rooke returned to England, but on the way was again taken prisoner by French privateers while sailing on a merchant ship from France. After his release, the Commissioners for Taking Care of Sick and Wounded Seamen certified on 11 February 1782 that Major Henry Rooke was free to enter service once again.¹⁴⁵ In 1789, he was in Sicily, where he wrote an account of his travels.¹⁴⁶ His actions as Inspector General of Provincial Forces came under scrutiny by the auditors of public accounts in June 1791.¹⁴⁷ The epitaph on his tombstone relates the final phase of his career.

When Capt. Henry Light, RA, arrived in Larnaca a few days after Rooke's death, he was accommodated in the lodgings that Rooke had formerly occupied there, 'a detached pavilion of the vice-consul's ... fitted up in the European manner, though built partly in the Eastern style.'¹⁴⁸ Though Light was under the impression that Rooke had died in Paphos, he described him as 'a gentleman whose memory seemed to be held in great respect at Cyprus, and whose inclination for travel had kept him for a long time in the east, where he lavished vast sums in objects of research and in acts of generosity, endearing him to the natives of the countries he visited.'¹⁴⁹

13. Esther Harriet Simeon Mary Wolff (1827–28)

Recorded by Cobham in the graveyard of the church of Hagia Napa, Limassol.¹⁵⁰ The church was built in 1903, replacing an earlier church of the Panayia dating from 1738.¹⁵¹

144 Gloucestershire Archives: D 1833/F2/43–44.

145 Gloucestershire Archives: D 1833/F2/48.

146 London: The National Archives (TNA): PRO 30/26/241: "Travels into Sicily: Sir Henry Rooke's personal diary 1789."

147 Gloucestershire Archives: D 1833/F2/46–47.

148 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

149 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

150 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 477; cf. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.

151 Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, pp. 369–370; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ESTHER HARRIET SIMEON MARY ONLY
CHILD OF THE REV^d JOSEPH AND LADY
GEORGIANA WOLFF WHO DIED IN THIS 5
CITY AUGUST 28TH 1828 AGED NINE
MONTHS AND NINETEEN DAYS.
IS IT WELL WITH THE CHILD? IT IS WELL.

The Rev. Joseph Wolff (1795–1862) was a colourful evangelical missionary whose travels took him around the Middle East and Asia and provided the material for a series of books about his life, travels and experiences.¹⁵² Born the son of a rabbi, David Levi, in Weilersbach near Bamberg, and named Wolff after his grandfather, he was baptized in 1812 and subsequently studied oriental languages, Christian theology and history in Vienna and Tübingen before travelling to Rome in September 1816 with the aim of becoming a missionary. Two years later, however, disillusioned with the Catholic Church and expelled from the Collegio di Propaganda for expressing hereti-

152 J. Wolff, *Missionary Journal and Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, Missionary to the Jews*, rev. and ed. J. Bayford, New York: Bliss & White, 1824; idem, *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews, Mohammedans, and Other Sects by the Rev. Joseph Wolff during his Travels between the Years 1831 and 1834, from Malta to Egypt, Constantinople, Armenia, Persia, Khorossau, Toorkestaun, Bokhara, Balkh, Cabool in Affghanistaun, the Himmalah Mountains, Cashmeer, Hindoostaun, the Coast of Abyssinia, and Yemen*, London: published by the author, 1835 (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2014); idem, *Journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, in a series of letters to Sir Thomas Baring, Bart., containing an Account of his Missionary Labours from the years 1827 to 1831; and from the years 1835 to 1838*, London: J. Burns, 1839; idem, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara, in the Years 1843–1845, to Ascertain the Fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly*, second edition, 2 vols, London: J.W. Parker, 1845 (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); idem, *Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, D.D., LL.D., Late Missionary to the Jews and Muhammadans in Persia, Bokhara, Cashmeer, etc.*, London: Saunders, Otley and Co., 1861 (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). See also E.I. Carlyle, “Wolff, Joseph (1795–1862)”, rev. T.M. Endelman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB], online edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29836>> [accessed 11 Feb. 2016].

cal views, he proceeded to London, where under the influence of an earlier acquaintance, Henry Drummond, he joined the Anglican Church and with Drummond's backing went up to Cambridge to prepare himself for missionary work with the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. Between 1821 and 1826, Wolff worked for the Society in the Middle East, Georgia and the Crimea. In 1822, he was in Cyprus during the massacres of Christians, saving six by his own intercessions (two of whom, however, subsequently apostatized) and sending some of the orphaned Greek children, including Demetrios Pierides and Georgios Constantinides, to be educated in England and Scotland.¹⁵³ Following his return to England he received British naturalization by Act of Parliament¹⁵⁴ and, on 6 February 1827, married Lady Georgiana Mary Walpole, the daughter of Horatio Walpole, seventh earl of Orford. In July of the same year, however, he set out again for the East, accompanied by his new wife, who by then was already pregnant. After two weeks preaching to the Jews in Gibraltar, the Wolffs proceeded to Malta, where on 8 November Lady Georgiana gave birth to their daughter. Soon afterwards, Wolff departed alone on the frigate HMS *Isis*, commanded by Sir Thomas Staines, arriving in Smyrna in December 1827 just weeks after the defeat of the Ottoman navy at the battle of Navarino. In January 1828, he sailed for Aegina on the frigate HMS *Cambrian*, under Capt. Rohan Hamilton, and from there took local transports to Syra, Milos and Navarino, where they were fired on by the Turks. After being shipwrecked off Cephalonia, he proceeded to Corfu and thence on an American merchantman back to Malta; but finding that his wife had preceded him to Alexandria, as previously agreed, he followed her there on HMS *Glasgow*, commanded by Sir Ashley Maud. On 17 May 1828, the family embarked for Beirut, but being unable to land on account of plague, lodged at first on board the brig HMS *Zebra*, commanded by Capt. Popham.

Being unable to proceed to Jerusalem, even after getting ashore, the Wolffs then sailed to Cyprus, which Wolff had visited six years earlier. He later described this visit (in the third person) in his *Travels and Adventures*:

153 Wolff, *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 97; *idem*, *Missionary Journal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–304; *idem*, *Travels and Adventures*, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173.

154 Parliamentary Archives: HL/PO/PB/1/1827/7&8 G4 n174: Private Act (Not Printed) 7&8 George IV, c.68.

He spent some time at Cyprus, with his wife, in a monastery, called Santa Barbara, as the air there was better than in Larnaca, on the coast. In that monastery, however, Wolff had an attack of Cyprus fever, but was cured. Thence they proceeded to Limasol, on the coast, and there Wolff's child died; and Lady Georgiana became dangerously ill. Wolff sent from thence another Greek boy, Paul Pierides by name, to England, for education, to Lady Carnegie, who sent him to Scotland, where he studied for the medical profession. After this, Lady Georgiana being recovered, Wolff and she left Cyprus in a miserable Austrian vessel, and came to Damiat, in Egypt, where they resided in the house of the British Consul, Signor Surur by name, an old friend of Wolff.¹⁵⁵

The Wolffs' young daughter, Esther Harriet Simeon Mary, would have been born in Malta on 8 November 1827 and died in Limassol on 28 August 1828. Her unusual middle name appears to have been given her as a token of appreciation to 'that holy man',¹⁵⁶ the Rev. Charles Simeon (1759–1836) of King's College, who had taught Wolff theology at Cambridge and officiated at his wedding.

Lady Georgiana evidently did not accompany her husband for all the remaining part of the tour, but her movements are not as clearly documented in his journal as his own. She accompanied him to Damietta and Cairo; but, while he proceeded overland to Jerusalem, it is possible that she returned directly to Cyprus, where he joined her from Jaffa in July 1829. After another bout of Cyprus fever, she sailed with him to Alexandria, but when he embarked later for Salonica (Thessaloniki) she remained behind, 'as her confinement was approaching.'¹⁵⁷ The Wolffs' second and only surviving child, Sir Henry Drummond Charles Wolff (1830–1908), was born in Alexandria on 12 October 1830.¹⁵⁸ He too may have been named after Charles Simeon, as well as Wolff's other mentor, Henry Drummond.

155 Wolff, *Travels and Adventures*, *op. cit.*, p. 255; cf. *idem*, *Journal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–149.

156 Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 3; *idem*, *Travels and Adventures*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

157 Wolff, *Travels and Adventures*, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–267.

158 Wolff, *Travels and Adventures*, *op. cit.*, p. 272; M. Pugh, "Wolff, Sir Henry Drummond Charles (1830–1908)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36990>> [accessed 11 Feb. 2016].

Wolff himself meanwhile proceeded to Rhodes, Lemnos, Mount Athos, Salonica and thence to Malta, where he was joined by Lady Georgiana and their infant son. From there, on 31 December 1830, Wolff set out on his own to Alexandria and thence to Constantinople (Istanbul) and through Asia Minor to Armenia, Persia, Khorasan (November 1831), Bukhara, Balkh, Kabul, Calcutta, Simla, Kashmir, Madras, Pondicherry, Goa, Bombay, Egypt and Malta, from where he sailed to England in 1834. On his next trip, after travelling to Abyssinia, Arabia and India, Wolff continued from Bombay *via* the Cape and St Helena to the United States, where he was ordained deacon by the Anglican bishop of New Jersey, and then to Ireland, where the bishop of Dromore ordained him priest. A further expedition in 1843, from which he was lucky to return alive, took him to Afghanistan to ascertain the fate of two murdered British officers, Col. Stoddart and Capt. Conolly. From 1847 until his death in 1862 he served as vicar of Isle Brewers in Somerset, his wife Lady Georgiana predeceasing him on 18 January 1859.¹⁵⁹

**14. Lorenzo Erastus Pease (1837–38) and Lucinda
Content Pease (1837–38)**

White marble slab ($0.56 \times 1.215 \times 0.03$ m) with rounded top containing incised depiction of two arching cornucopiae filled with flowers. The text is in capitals.¹⁶⁰

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF
LORENZO ERASTUS PEASE
BORN MARCH 14 . 1837 .
DIED JULY 10 . 1838 . 5
AND
LUCINDA CONTENT PEASE
BORN MARCH 14 . 1837 .

159 Carlyle, 'Wolff, Joseph', *ODNB.*, *op. cit.*

160 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

DIED DEC. 2 . 1838 .
 INFANT CHILDREN OF 10
 REV LORENZO W.
 AND MRS L. L. PEASE
 AMERICAN MISSIONARIES
 TO CYPRUS.

EN TH ΕΣΧΑΘ ΣΑΛΠΙΣΤΗ ΟΙ 15
 ΝΕΚΡΟΙ ΕΓΕΡΟΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΙ

Lines 15–16: ‘At the first trumpet (the) dead shall rise incorruptible.’ This text seems to have been inspired by 1 Corinthians 15.51–2: ‘Behold, I show you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.’¹⁶¹

The funeral of Lorenzo Erastus Pease in the church of St Lazarus in Larnaca is described in the *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* presented in September 1839:

A scene of great interest was presented, somewhat more than a year since, on occasion of the funeral of a child of Mr. Pease. The funeral was attended in the Greek church, the Greek priests leading the way in the procession, chanting the funeral dirge, in which there was nothing exceptional; but, in compliance with Mr. Pease’s wishes, they left the cross, the cherubim, the incense, etc. at home. The church was almost filled with Greeks, and when stillness was obtained, the bereaved father stood up and addressed them extemporaneously in the Greek tongue.¹⁶²

The account continues in Pease’s own words:

‘We then went to the grave, and there deposited the remains of our beloved child. Several of our friends having each thrown a shovel-full of earth on the coffin, I returned thanks in Greek to all, and especially to the priests for their

161 Authorized Version (1611).

162 *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* [*Annual Report of the ABCFM*] 30 (1839), p. 78.

kindness and sympathetic attention to us strangers in this far distant land, and then we departed.¹⁶³

The twins' father, the Rev. Lorenzo Warriner Pease, died in August the following year and was also buried in Larnaca (see **no. 16**).

15. Daniel Ladd (1837–39)

Rectangular tablet of grey-veined white marble ($0.49 \times 0.92 \times 0.05$ m). The lettering is in capitals, within a rectangular frame inset 2.5 cm from the edge.¹⁶⁴

HERE LIE THE MORTAL REMAINS
of
 DANIEL LADD J.^r.
 SON OF REV DANIEL LADD
 AND M^r.^s. C.H. LADD 5
 BORN IN BEYROOT SYRIA
 APRIL 15. 1837.
 DIED IN SCALA CYPRUS
 MAY 18. 1839.
 HIS BIRTH PLACED 10
 HIM ON THE BORDERS
 OF THE TERRESTRIAL
 PROMISED LAND HIS
 DEATH WE TRUST INTRODUCED
 HIM INTO THE 15
 HEAVENLY INHERITANCE
 OF THE CHILDREN OF GOD

Having left Boston on the schooner *Sea Eagle* on 16 July,¹⁶⁵ Daniel Ladd Senior (1804–72) and his wife, Charlotte Holley Ladd (*nee* Kitchel), landed in Cyprus on 29 October 1836. There he worked as a missionary alongside

163 *Annual Report of the ABCFM*, 30 (1839), p. 79.

164 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

165 *Annual Report of the ABCFM*, 27 (1836), pp. 35, 49, 52; 28 (1837), pp. 60, 62.

the Rev. Lorenzo Warriner Pease and James L. Thompson, running amongst other things a school for some seventy pupils in Larnaca and another for training teachers.¹⁶⁶ After Pease's death in 1839, missionary work in Cyprus was abandoned and in September 1842 the Ladds moved to Bursa in Turkey.¹⁶⁷ In his obituary of the Rev. Daniel Ladd the Rev. H.D. Kitchel writes of him:

His first field of labor was in the island of Cyprus, but after five years spent in acquiring the language and in faithful endeavors to bring the gospel home to the Greek mind and heart, the experiment was found there, as nearly everywhere else, almost fruitless, and the mission was discontinued.¹⁶⁸

16. Rev. Lorenzo Warriner Pease (1809–39)

White marble slab with rounded upper corners ($0.83 \times 1.44 \times c.0.07$ m) (Fig. 21). The text¹⁶⁹ is written in capitals within a border set 2.5 cm from the edge of the stone.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF THE REV.
LORENZO WARRINER PEASE
NATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA 5
AND
FIRST MISSIONARY OF THE A.B.C.F.M.
TO CYPRUS
WHO DIED AUG. 28. 1839.
AGED 30. YRS 3. M^o. 8. DAYS. 10

166 *Annual Report of the ABCFM*, 28 (1837), pp. 62–3; 29 (1838), p. 73; 30 (1839), pp. 76–78.

167 *Annual Report of the ABCFM*, 31 (1840), pp. 96–98; 32 (1841), p. 104; 34 (1843), p. 89.

168 H.D. Kitchel, "Rev. Daniel Ladd", *The Missionary Herald* (1872), p. 378.

169 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 478; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Robertson, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL BE IN EVERLASTING

REMEMBRANCE P.^s 112: 6.

→→→→ · ←←←←

ΚΑΙ ΗΚΟΥΣΑ ΦΩΝΗΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ

ΛΕΓΟΥΣΗΣ ΜΟΙ-ΓΡΑΨΟΝ-

ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΝΕΚΡΟΙ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΩ 15

ΑΠΟΘΝΗΣΚΟΝΤΗΣ ΑΠ' ΑΡΤΙ ΝΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ

ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΙΝΑ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝΤΑΙ

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΠΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ

ΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΡΓΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ

ΜΕΤ' ΑΥΤΩΝ . ΑΠΟΚ: ΙΔ.ΙΓ. 20

Line 3: The italics lean to the left.

Line 11: All the letters of *EVERLASTING* but the initial one are written small to fit within the remaining space.

Lines 13–20: ‘And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them’ (Revelation 14.13 (Authorized Version 1611)). In the order of service for the burial of the dead in the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England (1552, rev. 1662), these sentences are said at the point of committing the body to the earth. Some small differences are apparent with the established text of the Greek New Testament.¹⁷⁰

Line 14: ΜΟΙ interpolated.

Line 17: ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝΤΑΙ should be ΑΝΑΠΑΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ.

Line 19: ΔΕ should be ΓΑΡ.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was founded in 1810 by graduates of Williams College, Massachusetts. Although the founders were Congregationalists, the Board also later accepted Presbyterians and members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Lorenzo Wariner Pease came to Cyprus as a missionary with his wife on 25 November 1834. He documented his time there in a series of diaries, recently edited

¹⁷⁰ *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, ed. D. E. Nestle, rev. E. Nestle, Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1930, p. 640.

by Rita Severis.¹⁷¹ It seems that Pease succumbed to the summer sickness for which Larnaca was noted and which the missionaries would normally avoid by retiring to Lefkara during the months of July to September.¹⁷² Mrs Pease and her two children returned to Boston on the bark *Kazan* on 25 April 1841.¹⁷³

17. Dr James Lilburn (1799/1800–43)

Broken slab of white-grey marble ($0.50 \times >0.50 \times c.0.05$ m) (Fig. 17). Only the first thirteen and a half lines now survive, the remainder (lines 13–18) being supplied by Cobham and Jeffery.¹⁷⁴

TO THE MEMORY	
OF	
D. ^R JAMES LILBURN 2. ^D SON	
OF	
CAP. ^N W. ^M LILBURN OF DOVER	5
IN THE COUNTY OF KENT	
LATE	
H.B.M. CONSUL IN THIS ISLAND	
WHO	
DIED ON THE 6. TH OF JAN. ^{RY} 184[3]	10
AGED 40. YEARS	
THIS TABLET	
IS PLACED BY <u>H</u> [IS	
DEEPLY AFFL ^I [CTED WIDOW]	
[IF GREAT INTEGRITY AND BENEVOLENT]	15
[ATTENTION TO THE POOR AS A PHYSICIAN]	
[HAVE ANY CLAIM ON THE GRATITUDE]	

171 *The Diaries of Lorenzo Warriner Pease, 1834–1839*, ed. R. Severis, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

172 *Annual Report of the ABCFM*, 31 (1840), pp. 96–98.

173 *Annual Report of the ABCFM*, 32 (1841), p. 104.

174 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 478; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–180 (no. 3); cf. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Robertson, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[OF MANKIND HIS NAME WILL BE]
[LONG HONOURABLY REMEMBERED.]

James Lilburn, whom Ottoman sources refer to as John Lilburn (Con Lilboren), was appointed by the British ambassador in Constantinople, Stratford Canning, following the death of Antonio Vondiziano in September 1841 and on his death on 6 January 1843 was succeeded by Niven Kerr, with the vice-consul P. Paul Vondiziano acting briefly as consul during both interregnums.¹⁷⁵ Lilburn appears in consular correspondence in 1841 and 1842.¹⁷⁶

James Lilburn's father, Capt. William Lilburn, can probably be identified as the William Lilburn who is described in the registration of his will, on 13 August 1834, as master mariner and commander of the ship *Egyptian* of St Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex.¹⁷⁷ Another William Lilburn, 'Gent. of Dover, Kent,' whose will was registered on 18 November 1844, may perhaps have been James's elder brother.¹⁷⁸

18. Helena Augusta Jane Kerr (1846–47)

White marble slab (0.75 × 1.45 × 0.04 m), with beaded edge, three of the corners now knocked off (Fig. 23). The text is in capitals,¹⁷⁹ with deeply cut heavy letters in the style of the period like those of a printed bill-board.

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HELENA AUGUSTA, JANE,

175 Hill, *History of Cyprus*, IV, *op. cit.*, p. 180 n.; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 179, 276; Özkul, "Consuls", *op. cit.*, pp. 255–257; Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials", *op. cit.*, p. 35.

176 London: The National Archives (TNA): FO 78/450, 497; cf. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, IV, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 n., 156 n., 172 n.; 182–183, 383.

177 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/1835/240.

178 London: The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/2007/325.

179 *Excerpta Cypria*, ed. Cobham, *op. cit.*, p. 479; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 180 (no. 4).

THE INFANT DAUGHTER OF
 NIVEN . KERR . ESQUIRE 5
 HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSUL
 FOR THIS ISLAND
 AND OF LOUISA MARIA . HIS WIFE,
 WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
 THE 3RD. OF JULY 1847. 10
 AGED 11 MONTHS AND 10 DAYS.

IF ENVY IN MY SOUL COULD DWELL,
 CHILD!, I COULD ENVY THEE;
 ERE SIN ITS IRON CHAIN HAD FORG'D,
 THE CAPTIVE WAS SET FREE. 15

THEN SHED NO TEARS ON SUCH A GRAVE,
 NO MOURNING VIGIL KEEP,
 MAN IS NOT SO SUPREMELY BLEST.
 TO] NEED FOR ANGEL WEEP!

Line 11: The digit *l* is written in each case as a *J*.

Niven Kerr was appointed to replace Dr James (John) Lilburn as consul in April 1843 and arrived in Cyprus in September.¹⁸⁰ He is mentioned as British consul in Cyprus in consular correspondence between 1843 and 1853, though from 1849 onwards he was resident in Rhodes, Larnaca being served by a vice-consul subordinate to him.¹⁸¹ From 1853 onwards Kerr was consul in Dunkirk.¹⁸²

180 Hill, *History of Cyprus*, IV, *op. cit.*, p. 180 n.; Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials", *op. cit.*, p. 35.

181 London: The National Archives (TNA): FO 78/539, 580, 621, 661a, 715, 754, 802, 833, 869, 909, 956; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, IV, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 n., 176, 185 n., 186–190, 214, 217–221, 271, 370–371, 383, 458 n.; Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–195, 277; Özkul, "Consuls", *op. cit.*, pp. 255–257.

182 London: The National Archives (TNA): FO 27/979, 1029, 1082, 1209, 1141.

19. William Balls (1817–49)

Rectangular tablet of white grey-veined marble (0.59×1.195 m), weathered to a pinkish colour, inscribed in a mixture of upper and lower-case letters (Fig. 24).¹⁸³

SACRED	
to the	
memory of	
W ^m BALLS	
late seaman	5
on board	
H.B.M.S. VOLAGE	
who died	
May 20 1849	
Aged 32 Years.	10

This tomb is erected as a token of
respect by his shipmates.

Line 7: H.B.M.S. = Her Britannic Majesty's Ship.

Capt. Thomas Graves, captain of HMS *Volage*, carried out the first trigonometrical survey of the coasts of Cyprus between 1839 and 1849. His chart, with soundings and inserted plans of the ports of Limassol, Larnaca, Famagusta and Kyrenia, was published in 1851.¹⁸⁴

The admissions papers for the Royal Naval Hospital School, Greenwich, include a bundle of three relating to William Balls. Although the date of his admission is not given, they record that he was born on 4 August

183 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, *op. cit.*, p. 479; Jeffery, *Description*, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Robertson, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

184 R. Shirley, *Kitchener's Survey of Cyprus 1878–1883: The First Full Triangulated Survey and Mapping of the Island*, Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2110, pp. 13–14, fig. 4.

1817, the son of William and Mary Balls.¹⁸⁵ William Balls Senior is recorded as a pensioner in Greenwich Hospital itself in 1834, 1836 and 1839, no doubt following service in the Navy (or possibly the Royal Marines or Coastguard).¹⁸⁶

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Father Spyridon, priest in charge of St Lazarus' church in Larnaca, and to Dr Nicholas Coureas of the Cyprus Research Centre for their assistance in visiting and recording the tombs in the Protestant cemetery enclosure. The late Professor Frank Trombley kindly assisted in interpreting the Greek texts.

185 London: The National Archives (TNA): ADM 73/163/107.

186 London: The National Archives (TNA): ADM 6/243/3 and 5; 245/40.

Captions to Figures

- Fig. 1. Larnaca: The church of St Lazarus, from the north (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 2. Larnaca: The Protestant burial enclosure beside the church of St Lazarus (from *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 73, no. 2049 (5 Oct. 1878), p. 325: courtesy of Cardiff University Library: Special Collections and Archives).
- Fig. 3. Tombstone of Capt. Peter Bowen (1673, no. 1) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 4. Tombstone of Capt. Peter Dare (1685, no. 2) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 5. Tombstone of Capt. Peter Dare (1685, no. 2): detail of text (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 6. Tombstone of Capt. Peter Dare (1685, no. 2): detail of Armenian mason's signature (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 7. Tomb of John Ken (1693, no. 4) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 8. Tomb of John Ken (1693, no. 4): detail of armorial bearings (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 9. Tomb of John des Bouverie (1699, no. 5) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 10. Tomb of John des Bouverie (1699, no. 5) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 11. Tombstone of Robert Bate (c.1700, no. 6) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 12. Tombstone of Robert Bate (c.1700, no. 6): detail of armorial bearing (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 13. Tomb of William Ken (1707, no. 7) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 14. Tomb of William Ken (1707, no. 7) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 15. Tomb of Christopher Graham (1711, no. 8) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 16. Tomb of Christopher Graham (1711, no. 8) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 17. Tombstone of Mary Palmer and her infant daughter (1720, no. 9) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 18. Tombstone of George Barton (1739, no. 10) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 19. Tomb of Michael de Vezin (1792, no. 11) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 20. Tomb of Michael de Vezin (1792, no. 11) (photo. Denys Pringle).
- Fig. 21. Tombstone of the Rev. Lorenzo Warriner Pease (1839, no. 16) (photo. Denys Pringle).

Fig. 22. Tombstone of Dr James Lilburn (1843, no. 17) (photo. Denys Pringle).

Fig. 23. Tombstone of Helena Augusta Jane Kerr (1847, no. 18) (photo. Denys Pringle).

Fig. 24. Tombstone of William Balls (1849, no. 19) (photo. Denys Pringle).